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AN EASY INTRODUCTION

TO

THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

BY

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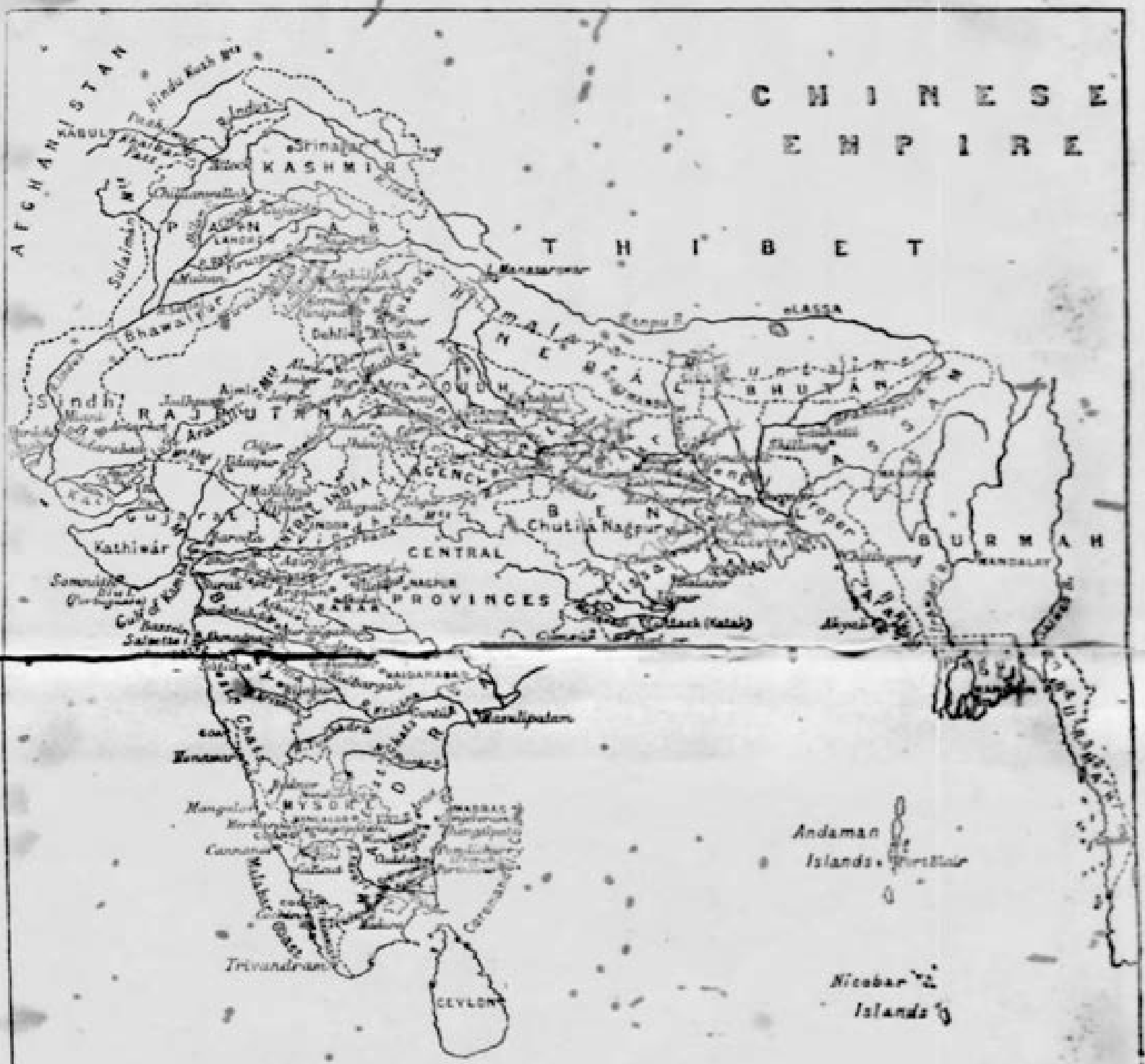

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AN EASY INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

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PREFACE.

It has been represented to me that very young boys often find it difficult to master all the details that are given in my *History of India*; and that consequently an easier text-book would be found very useful, in many of our schools, as an *introduction* to the study of Indian History. Such a text-book I now offer to the public.

The present little work is in no way an *abridgment* of the former work on which it is based; on the contrary, some of the more important portions of the narrative are told at greater length and with no attempt at compression. The principle I have adopted may be described as follows:—I have selected those periods of Indian History which appear to me to be the most important and interesting—such as the reign of Asoka, the life of Mahmúd of Ghazní, the Muhammadan Conquest, the reign of Akbar, the life of Sivaji, the Indian careers of Clive and Warren Hastings; and of these I have given a tolerably full account, endeavouring to make the recital as interesting as possible by inserting a good many illustrative anecdotes and stories. Of the intermediate periods I have given nothing more than the landmarks, suppressing all details not absolutely essential to a fairly intelligent acquaintance with the general course of the history.

E. L.

Krishnagar College:
January 1, 1875

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AN EASY INTRODUCTION

TO

THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.*

§ 1. Extent and Boundaries. § 2. Natural Divisions. § 3. Political Divisions. § 4. Races and Languages.

§ 1. *Extent and Boundaries.*—India is a very large country in the south of Asia, and is an important part of the great British Empire, under the dominion of Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. India contains about 1,500,000 square miles, and is, therefore, in size about one-third of the whole British Empire. It is bounded on the north by the Himálaya Mountains, the highest mountains in the world; and on the south by the sea, which is called on the west side the Indian Ocean, and on the east side the Bay of Bengal.

Away to the east of the Bay of Bengal, and therefore beyond the limits of India Proper, is the province of

* The lists of places of historical interest in each province are not to be learnt, but are inserted for reference. When a student, in reading this History, meets with the name of a place that is unknown to him, he should first find out where it is by referring to these lists, and then look it out in the Map.

British Burmah, which is, however, a part of the Indian Empire of Queen Victoria.

§ 2. *Natural Divisions.*—India is divided, by its natural features and shape, into two great parts. South India, sometimes called the Dakhin, is a great triangular peninsula jutting out into the ocean; the point or apex of the triangle being Cape Comorin, at the southern point of India, and the base of the triangle being an imaginary line separating it from North India. North India is that part of the continent of Asia which is adjacent to this triangle on the north side of its base, and which lies south of the Himálaya Mountains.

North India is subdivided into two great natural divisions; the western part being the country watered by the river Sindh or Indus and its tributaries, the central and eastern parts being the parts watered by the river Ganges and its tributaries, together with the river Brahmaputra, which is connected with the Ganges.

§ 3. *Political Divisions.*—We will commence in the extreme east, where India borders on Burmah, and describe the chief political divisions as we go westward.

(*a*) The province of India that is furthest to the east is ASSAM. Assam is the valley of the Brahmaputra, and includes some adjoining hill-tracts. Until the beginning of 1874, Assam formed a part of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal; but it is now separate, and is governed by a Chief Commissioner.

The following places of historical interest in Assam should be found out on the map by the student:—

Gauhatti, the present chief town of Assam, in the Kámrúp district; it was anciently called *Pragjatisipur*. *Ghargáon*, the ancient capital of Assam, now called Názirah, in the Sibságar district. *Shillong*, in the Khasiah Hills, the residence of the Government of Assam.

(*b*) West and south-west of Assam is the great Lieutenant-Governorship of BENGAL, the largest and by far the richest and most populous province of India. It

consists of Bengal Proper, including the delta * and the lower valley of the Ganges; Bihár, higher up on the Ganges; Chutiá Nágpur, which is the hilly country south of Bihár and west of Bengal; and Orissa, which lies south-west of Bengal, and stretches down for a little way along the upper coast of the peninsula of South India. The Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal is sometimes called the *Lower Provinces of Bengal*. With Assam it contains about 250,000 square miles, and about 67 millions of people; that is, about one-sixth of the land and about one-third of the population of all India.

The following places of historical interest in Bengal should be found out on the map by the student:—

1. BENGAL PROPER.—In the district of the twenty-four Parganahs, *Calcutta*. In Nadiyá or Krishnagar district, *Nadiyá* (the old Hindú capital of Bengal), near the junction of the Bhágirathí and Jalangi rivers, and *Plassey* or *Pálásí* on the Bhágirathí. In Bardwán, *Bardwán*. In Húgli, *Húgli*, *Chinsurah*, *Chandernagar*, *Satgáon* (formerly the capital of Bengal, now a small village close to Húgli). In Murshidábád, *Murshidábád* (formerly called Makhsusábád, the capital of the Nawábs of Bengal), and *Kásimbazár*. In Máldá, *Gaur*, or Lakhnauti, the ancient capital of the Muhammadan Kings of Bengal, now in ruins; and *Gréd Panduah*, also in ruins. In Dacca, *Dacca* (*Dhákí*, called by the Muhammadans *Jahángirnagar*), and the ruins of Sunárgáon. In Chittagong, *Chátgáon* or *Chittagong*, called by Muhammadans Islámábád.

2. BIHÁR.—In Patna district, *Patná*, the ancient Pálibothra or Pátaliputra, captial of the empire of Magadha. In Sháhábád, *Arrah*, *Buxar*, *Chausa*, *Sahsarám*, and the fortress of Rohtás. In Tirhut (anciently called Kosala), is *Hájipur*, on the confluence of the Ganges and the Ghandak, opposite to Patna. In Munger, *Munger*. In the Santál Parganahs, *Rájmahal* (formerly called Akmahal), and *Telniagarhí* (formerly a famous fort).

3. ORISSA.—In the district of Katak or Central Orissa, *Kattak* or *Katak Bandras*, on the river Mahánadí, the capital of Orissa; and *Jájpur*, the ancient capital. In Puri, or Southern Orissa, *Puri* or *Jagannáth*. In Balasor, or Northern Orissa, *Balasor*.

(*c*) West of Bihár and higher up the valley of the Ganges is the country called the NORTH-WEST PROVINCES,

* The delta of a river is the land between its mouths, *i.e.* between the various branches by which it falls into the sea.

ruled by a Lieutenant-Governor. It includes the provinces of Benarès and Gorákhpur, adjoining Bihár; those of Allahábád, Agra, and Mírath, following one another successively as we go higher up the valleys of the Ganges and its great feeder, the Jamnah; Jhánsi, south of Agra and Allahábád; Rohilkhand, stretching north of Agra towards the Himálaya Mountains; and Kamáon, a hill-district on the spurs of the Himálayas north of Rohilkhand. The North-West Provinces are about one-third the size of the Lower Provinces, and contain about one-half the number of people.

The following places of historical interest in the North-West Provinces should be found out on the map by the student:—

In the Benáres division, *Benáres* (*Benáras*), *Gházipur*, *Chanár* (a famous hill-fort in the Mirzapur district), and *Jaunpur*. In the Allahábád division, *Allahábád* (at the confluence of the Jamnah and the Ganges, formerly called *Prayága*), and *Cawnpore* (*Kanhpur*). In the Agra division, *Agra* (and near Agra are *Fathpur Síkri*, and *Chandwa* or Firúzábád); *Kanauj*, formerly called *Kanyakubja*; and *Mathurá*. In the Mirath division, *Mirath*. In the Jhánsi division, *Jhánsi*. In Rohilkhand, *Bijnor* (the scene of Kálidása's great drama *Sakuntalá*).

(*d*) North of these provinces, and nearly shut in between Rohilkhand on the west and Gorákhpur on the east, is the small but rich and populous province of OUDH, which is governed by a Chief Commissioner. It stretches from the Ganges on the south to the Himálaya Mountains on the north.

The following places of historical interest in Oudh should be found out on the map by the student:—

In Central Oudh, *Lucknow* (*Lakhnau*), the capital of the province. In Eastern Oudh, *Ayodhyá* (the birthplace of Ráma), near *Faizabad*.

(*e*) Proceeding from Agra up the valley of the Jamnah, we come to the city and province of Dehli, which is now annexed to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the PANJÁB. The Panjáb Proper includes the upper valley of the Indus, and derives its name (*Panj-áb* = *Five rivers*) *from the five tributaries* of the Indus, *viz.* the Satlej, the Biáh or Biás,

the Rávi, the Chanáb, and the Jhelam or Bahat. Attached to the Panjáb are many important *Feudatory** States, of which the chief are: (1) Kashmír, occupying a fine valley in the Himálayas north-east of the Panjáb; (2) Kapúrthalá; (3) the Cis-Satlej States of Patiála, Jhínd and Nabhá, called *Cis-Satlej* States because they are on this (*i.e.* the Calcutta) side of the Satlej.

The following places of historical interest in the Panjáb should be found out on the map:—

In the Dehli division, *Dehli*, and (north of Dehli) *Karnál* and *Pánipat*. In the Ambálah division, north of Dehli, *Tháneswar*, on the Saraswatí, with the village of *Tirórí* and the field of *Kurukshetra* near at hand; *Máchhiwárá*, *Alíwál*, and *Sirhind*, all near Lodiáná. In the Jálandhar division, *Kángrah* or *Nagarkot*. In the Lahor division, *Lahor*; and (south of the Satlej) *Firúzpur*, *Firúzshahr*, *Mudkí*, and *Sobráon*. In the Ráwalpindí division (the country called Taxila by Alexander and the Greeks—*see* Chapter V.), *Attock* (or *Atak*), on the Indus; *Gujarát* (the town near which the Sikhs were defeated by Lord Gough in 1849—*see* Chapter XXXII.—not to be confounded with the *Province* of Gujarát, on the west side of India); and *Chilián-wálah*. In the Pasháwar division, *Pasháwar* (an important town beyond the Indus, on the frontiers of Afghánistán; between Pasháwar and Afghánistán is the famous *Khaibar Pass*, a difficult road through the mountains—*see* Chapter XXX.) Southward, in the Multán division, between the Satlej and the Chanáb, *Multán*.

(*f*) South of the Panjáb and west of the North-West Provinces is RÁJPÚTÁNA, or the country of the Rájpúts. It consists of eighteen Feudatory Native States, governed each by its own native ruler under the protection of the British Government; and of one district (Ajmír) which

* The *Feudatory* States are those which are ruled by native princes under the protection of the British Indian Government. These states are bound by treaties, in return for this protection, to render certain *feudal* services; as, for instance, in some cases, to furnish a certain number of troops in time of war, to bear the expense of a certain number of British troops for their protection, and similar services. A British political officer, generally called *the Resident*, is stationed in these states to advise their native rulers in matters of government. *See* the section on the *Subsidiary System*, Chapter XXIV., § 1.

belongs to the North-West Provinces. The chief Protected States of Rájpútána are Udaipur or Mewár, Jodhpur or Marwár, and Jaipur or Amber. Rájpútána contains 120,000 square miles, and about nine millions of inhabitants; that is, it is about half the size of Bengal, but does not contain one-seventh of the number of inhabitants.

The following places of historical interest in Rájpútána should be found out on the map:—

In Mewár or Udaipur, *Udaipur*, the present capital of the Maháráná; and east of it *Chitor*, the renowned fortress successively taken by Alá-ud-dín and by Akbar. In Ajmir, *Ajmir*, the capital. In Jaipur, *Jaipur*, the present capital; *Amber*, north-east of it, the ancient capital; and *Rantanbhár*, the famous fortress. In Jodhpur or Marwár, the capital, *Jodhpur*. In Alwár (or Ulwar), north of Jaipur, *Laswárí*. In Bhartpur, *Bhartpur*, the capital and a fortress, once deemed impregnable; and *Dig*. In Sirohi, *Mount Abu*.

(*g*) West and south of Rájpútána is the Bombay Presidency. The part of that Presidency which is west of Rájpútána is called Sindh, and is the lower valley of the Indus. South of Sindh and Rájpútána, and separating Sindh from the rest of the Bombay Presidency, are Gujarát and Kach, the former occupying a peninsula and part of the mainland, and the latter being separated from the mainland by a shallow arm of the sea (called the Ran of Kach), which is dry in the hot weather. Kach and a great part of Gujarát, and several other portions of the Bombay Presidency, are under the direct government of native chiefs, *feudatories* of the British Government [*see* note on page 5]. The southern portion of the Bombay Presidency consists of: (1) Gujarát; (2) the Konkan, including the island of Bombay and much of the adjacent mainland; (3) Mahárásh̄tra, or the country of the Mahrattas, lying inland, and separated from the Konkan by the range of hills called the Western Ghát; (4) Khándesh, also inland, east of Gujarát and north of Mahárásh̄tra; and in the extreme south, North Kanará, adjoining Mysor and the Madras Presidency, and separated from the Konkan by the

small Portuguese territory of Goa. All these provinces, except Gujarát, belong to *South India*, forming the western side of the Great Indian Peninsula.

The following places of historical interest in the Bombay Presidency should be found out on the map:—

In Gujarát, *Súrat*. In the Konkan, *Bombay*; *Thánah*, on the island of *Salsette*, north-east of Bombay; and *Bassein*, north-west of Thánah. In Maháráshtra, *Púná*, long the capital of the Mahrattas; near it, *Khirki* and *Fort Purandhar*; *Ahmadnagar*, the capital of the Nizám Sháhi kingdom; Bijápur, the capital of the Adil Sháhi kingdom; and *Satára*, the capital of Sivaji's descendants. In North Kanará, *Honawar* or *Honore*. In Sindh, *Haidarabad*, the capital; near it *Miani* and *Amarkot*; *Tattah*, the ancient capital of Sindh; and west of Tattah, the great port of *Karáchi*.

(*h*) East of Gujarát, partly in Hindústán and partly in the Dakhin, are the Native States of Málwah and others, forming the CENTRAL INDIA AGENCY. This comprises 71 *Feudatory* States [*see* note on page 5], with an area of more than 80,000 square miles, and a population of nearly eight millions. The most important States are: (1) Gwáliár, the dominions of the Mahárájá Sindia; (2) Indor, the dominions of the Mahárájá Holkár, comprising a portion of Málwah; (4) Bhopál, the dominions of Sháh Jahán Begum; and (5) Rewah and the States of Bundelkhand, south of the North-West Provinces, and west of Chutiá Nágpur, in Bengal.

The following places of historical interest in the Central India Agency should be found out on the map:—

In Sindia's dominions, *Gwáliár*; near it, *Mahárájpur* and *Paniár*; and in the south-western detached portion of the same dominions, *Ujjain*, the capital of King Vikramaditya. In Holkár's dominions, *Indor*, the capital; and *Mahidpur*, near Ujjain. In Bhopál, *Raisin*, taken by Sher Súr.

(*i*) South of the Central India Agency, and south-west of Chutiá Nágpur, in Bengal, are the CENTRAL PROVINCES, governed by a British Chief Commissioner. These consist of three distinct territories: the *Súgar* and *Narbadah* territories in the north, *Nágpur* in the south, and the

Tributary Mahalls on the east. In size and population the Central Provinces are about equal to the Central India Agency. In ancient times they formed the kingdom of Gondwáná; and under the Muhammadans the western portions belonged to the kings of Málwah.

The following places of historical interest in the Central Provinces should be found out on the map:—

In the district of Nimár, in the Narbaddah Commissionership, *Burhánpur*, the capital of the old kings of Khándesh; and near it the famous fortress of *Asirgarh*. In the Nágpur Commissionership, *Nágpur*, the capital, formerly the capital of the Mahratta Rájás of Barár.

(*j*) South and west of the Central Provinces and east of Khándesh, in Bombay, lies the British territory called the BARÁRS, or *the Haidarábád Assigned Districts*. They were handed over to the British Government by the Nizám of Haidarábád in 1853, in payment for debts. The southern portion of this territory is called the *Bálághát*.

The following are the chief places of historical interest in the Barárs:—

In the district of Ilichpur, in East Barár, *Ilichpur*, the capital; and the fortress of Gáwilgarh. In the district of Akola, in West Barár, *Argáon*; and the ruins of *Shákpur*.

(*k*) South of the Barárs are the dominions of the Nizám of HAIDARÁBÁD, a great feudatory of the British Indian Empire. They occupy the centre of the Dakhin, being cut off from the sea by the Bombay Presidency on the west, and by the Madras Presidency on the east and south. In size and population they are about equal to the Central Provinces.

The following are the chief places of historical interest in the Nizám's dominions:—

Haidarábád, the capital; north-west of it, *Golkondah*, formerly the capital of the Kutb Sháhi kings; *Warangal*, in the north-east; *Bidár*, formerly the capital of the Baridsháhi kings, and near it *Kulbargah*, once the capital of the Bahmani dynasty; Kharki, now called Aurangábád, once the capital of Malik Ambar; a little west of Aurangábád is *Deogiri*, now called Daulatábád; and east of Aurangábád is the battle-field of *Assai*.

(*l*) The MADRAS PRESIDENCY occupies all the eastern coast of the Indian peninsula (called the Coromandel coast) as far north as Orissa, in Bengal; all the southern portion of that peninsula, and a part of the western coast (called the Malabar coast). It has an area of 126,000 square miles, and a population exceeding thirty millions. The north-eastern districts, bordering on Orissa, are called the Northern Circars; the eastern and southern districts are the Carnatic, the western are Malabár and South Kanará.

Attached to the Madras Presidency are some Feudatory States, of which the chief are *Travancor*, occupying the southern corner of the Indian peninsula, and *Cochin*, on the Malabar coast, north of Travancor.

The following are the chief places of historical interest in the Madras Presidency:—

In the Northern Circars, *Gumsúr*, *Masulipatam*, *Guntúr*. In the Carnatic, *Madras*, with *Chinglepat* and *Conjeveram* near it, *Arcot*, and in the same district *Vellor* and *Wandewash*. In South Arcot, *Cuddalor*, the ruins of *Fort St. David*, *Gingi*, *Porto Novo*, and the French town of Pondicherry. In the district of Trichinápalli, *Trichinápalli*, and the island of *Sriraṅgam*. In the district of Tánjor, *Tánjor*; and in that of Madura, *Madura*. In Malabar, *Calicut*, *Cannanór*, and the *Pálghát Pass*. In South Kanará, *Mangalor*.

(*m*) In the southern-central part of the peninsula, south of the Nizám's dominions, and separated from them by some districts of Madras called the Ceded Districts, are the principalities of Mysore and Coorg, now under the rule of a Chief Commissioner. The whole of Mysore is situated on a lofty tableland.

The following are the chief places of historical interest in Mysore and Coorg:—

Seringapatam, *Bangalor*, *Nandidrúg*, *Bednor*, in Mysore; and *Merkára*, in Coorg.

In addition to the political divisions of the British Indian Empire above mentioned, there are three Hill States in the Himálaya Mountains, which are nominally independent, being subordinate allies of the British Empire.

These are Bhután, in the Himálaya slopes north of Assam and Bengal; Sikkim, in those north of Bengal; and Nepál, in those north of Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and Oudh.

There are also three Portuguese settlements: Goa, a town and district between the Konkan and North Kanará; Damán, a town in the British district of Súrat, in Gujarát; and Diú, an island near the peninsula of Káthíwár, also in Gujarát. There are also a few French settlements, of which the most important are the town of Pondicherry, south of Madras, and the town of Chandernagar, between Húgli and Serampur, on the river Húgli, above Calcutta.

Beyond the limits of British India, but ruled by the Government of India, is the great country called British Burmah, under a Chief Commissioner. It consists of three rich and fertile provinces on the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, *viz. Arakán*, which is adjacent to the extreme eastern limit of Eastern Bengal; *Pegú*, south of Arakán, consisting of the lower valleys of the great rivers Irawadi, Sitoung, and Salwen; and *Tenasserim*.

The Andaman and Nikobar Islands are two groups in the Bay of Bengal, opposite Tenasserim. They are ruled by a British officer under the Government of India; and in the Andamans is situated the great penal settlement, to which convicts are transported from all parts of India.

Ceylon, the large and valuable island south of India, is not governed by the Indian Government, but is directly under the rule of the English Government in London. The native name of Ceylon is Singhala; but the Hindús call it Lanká.

§ 4. *Races and Languages.*—A large number of different races inhabit the great country of India, who are most easily distinguished by the various languages which they speak.

It should be noticed at first, that of the *Muhammadans* that are to be found in all parts of India some are de-

PUSHTU
OR
AFGHANI
PANJÁBI
(JATAKI)
KASHMIRI
MUGHUL (TURANIAN) LANGUAGES
THIBETAN LANGUAGES
Multani
BALOCHI
SINDHI
Rájpúti
HINDI
AND
HINDUSTANI
Lhopa
Lepcha
Dhimal
Koch
Bodo
Garo
Cachari
Asisam
Mithili
Kanauji
Kutch
Kachhi
Bhils
GUJARÁTI
Bandalkhandi
Koli
Santali
BENGÁLI
INDO-CHINESE LANGUAGES
Gondi and other
Aboriginal languages,
with Hindi, Marathi
and Uriya
MARÁTHI
Khonds
URIYA
KANARESE
TELUGU
MALAYALAM
Todas
TAMIL
Singhálí
INDIA
SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF
LANGUAGES
STANFORDS GEOG.L ESTABT 55 CHARING CROSS.

scendants of the old Afghán or Pathán conquerors of India [*see* Chap. IX.]; others are descendants of the later Mughul conquerors [*see* Chap. XII.]; a few are Persian, Arabian, or African immigrants; but the majority are only descended from converts, and do not differ in point of race from the rest of the population. They, however, generally speak some dialect or other of the *Urdú* or *Hindústáni* language, which is formed of Persian mixed with the vernacular languages.

The rest of the population may be divided broadly into *Aryan-Hindús* and *Aborigines*, in the north of India, and into *Dravidian-Hindús* and *Aborigines* in the south.

The aboriginal tribes are found in the hills and forests of every part of India. Thus there are the Santáls, in Bengal; the Bhars, in the North-West Provinces and Oudh; the Gakkhars, in the Panjáb; the Gonds, in Central India; the Bhíls, in Bombay and Rájpútána; the Tudas, in South India; and many others. Many of the lower castes in all parts of India are largely mixed with aboriginal tribes.

By far the most numerous and the most important part of the population of India consists of the Aryan-Hindús in the north, and the Dravidian-Hindús in the south. The precise relationship, if any, between these two races has never been settled; it is generally believed that the Hindús of Southern India do not belong to the great Aryan race at all, but are more nearly allied to the aboriginal tribes.

The Aryan-Hindús are connected by descent with the chief nations of Europe (*see* Chap. II.) The languages spoken by the different branches of the Aryan-Hindú race are all derived from the Sanskrit, with more or less admixture from other sources. Of these branches, the chief are: (1) the *Hindí*-speaking people, in Bihár, the North-West Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces; (2) the *Bengálís*, in Bengal and parts of Bihár, Orissa, and Assam, the Assamese language itself being very closely allied to Bengáli; (3) the *Mahrattas*, speaking Maráthi, in the

Bombay Presidency, the Central Provinces, the Central India Agency, and the Barárs; (4) the *Gujaráti*-speaking people, in the Bombay Presidency and the adjacent parts of Rájpútána; (5) the *Uriyás*, in Orissa and the adjacent parts of the Central Provinces and the Madras Presidency; (6) the *Panjábis*, in the Panjáb; and (7) the *Sindhians*, in Sindh.

The Dravidian races are: (1) the *Telugus*, in the northern portions of the Madras Presidency and in the east of the Nizám's dominions; (2) the *Tamils*, throughout the southern portion of the peninsula, speaking the *Tamil* language in the South Carnatic and Travancor, and the Malayálim dialect of that language in Malabár and Cochin; (3) the Kanarese, in Kanará and other western portions of the Madras Presidency, and also in Mysore and Coorg, and throughout a considerable part of the Nizám's dominions.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONQUEST OF INDIA BY THE ARYAN-HINDÚS.

§ 1. Sources from which we obtain our knowledge of the early history. § 2. The Vedas. § 3. The ancient Hindús of the Patriarchal Age. § 4. The ancient Hindús of the Heroic Age. § 5. Legends of the Heroic Age.

§ 1. *Sources from which we obtain our knowledge of the early history.*—In very ancient times in India no one ever thought of sitting down and writing an account of the events which he saw or heard of as occurring in the country; and in consequence of this negligence no trustworthy history was written in India until after the Muhammadan conquest, *i.e.* until some period not nine hundred years ago.[1] All we know, therefore, about the earlier history of this country must be derived, not from regular histories or annals, but from other sources, such as legends or

ancient popular tales, hints collected from ancient religious or poetical writings, references to Indian affairs by the historians of other countries, hints derived from the writings on coins, or ancient inscriptions on stone or metal; and other sources of which we need not speak here.

§ 2. *The Vedas.*—The writings that are considered most sacred by the Hindús are called the *Vedas*. These sacred writings are in Sanskrit—a language which was spoken in ancient times throughout the north of India; and it is believed that some of these writings were composed more than 3,200 years ago. The oldest parts of the Vedas are *Hymns* or invocations to God; and from these (combined with other sources) we learn something about the circumstances of the Hindús of that period.

§ 3. *The Ancient Hindús of the Patriarchal Age.*—It appears, then, that the ancestors of the people whom we now call Hindús did not live in India in very ancient times, but in the highlands of Central Asia. They were then called Aryans; and were the ancestors, not only of the Hindús, who afterwards came to India, but also of the Europeans, who went to live in Europe, and of the Persians, who went to live in Persia.

At last the Hindú tribe of the Aryan race migrated southward from Central Asia over the high mountains which you will see marked in the Atlas as the Hindú Kush; and so they came first into the Panjáb [*see* Chap. I., § 3 (*o*)]. Besides the five rivers which now, with the Indus, water the Panjáb, there was then another tributary of the Indus, called the *Saraswatí*, which in modern times never reaches the Indus at all, but loses itself in the sands of the desert. On the banks of the river Saraswatí and of the other Panjáb rivers the Hindú-Aryans remained for many centuries; and were probably living here under a sort of patriarchal government at the time to which the hymns of the Vedas refer, the district being called by them *Brahmávartta*.

[NOTE.—A government is called *Patriarchal* (from the Greek words *pater*, a father, and *archos*, chief) when the head of the family rules that family as its chief.]

The head or patriarch of the tribe was not only its chief, but also its priest. When it was necessary these Aryan invaders fought against the original inhabitants of the country (called *aborigines* or *aboriginal tribes*), who were people of a darker colour than themselves; and as the Aryans were braver than the aborigines, and possessed better weapons and wore strong armour of mail (that is, armour made of small iron or bronze rings closely interlaced), they were usually victorious, and drove the aborigines away into the hills and forests where their descendants still live. But generally during this patriarchal period the Aryans contented themselves with living quietly in the fertile plains of the Panjáb; and the people led a very simple life, being all of them engaged in feeding cattle and occasionally in a little rude agriculture.

§ 4. *The Ancient Hindús of the Heroic Age.*—This state of affairs probably continued, as we have said, for many centuries, during which the Aryan-Hindús gradually became richer and more numerous; and at last they began to think themselves strong enough to conquer the rich plains watered by the Ganges and its tributaries, which were even more fertile than those of the Panjáb.

[NOTE.—We have seen in Chapter I. that these plains are now called the *North-West Provinces*, *Oudh*, *Bihár*, *Bengal*, and parts of *Rájpútána*, and the *Central India Agency*. But by the Aryan-Hindús the land between the Saraswatí and the Ganges was called *Brahmárshi-desa*, the sacred country of Bráhman Rishis; eastward was *Madhya-desa*, as far as Allahabad; and finally the whole of Northern India was *Aryavartta*.]

For many years, and perhaps for many centuries, the Aryan-Hindús were engaged in conquering these fine provinces; and this period is called the *Heroic Age* of Indian history, because the Hindús under famous and heroic leaders

were continually engaged in war against the aborigines, whom they gradually reduced to slavery or drove away into the hills and forests, like the Santáls, Bhíls, and other tribes at the present day.

The heroes who conducted these wars gradually became *Mahárájás*, or kings, as their power increased by making large conquests and by getting many followers. Since these chiefs were now busily engaged in war, they could no longer attend to their duties as priests, as they had been accustomed to do in the patriarchal times; so in course of time there arose a priestly caste, called *Bráhmans*. Ultimately the Bráhmans acquired more influence over the people than even the kings themselves; so at last there were two high classes amongst these Aryan-Hindús, the *Bráhmans*, who were regarded by the superstitious as almost divine, and who were held in the highest reverence, and the *Kshatriya*, or soldier-caste, to which the kings and military leaders belonged. Many legends and popular stories about this Heroic Age have been preserved, of which the chief are to be found in the two great Sanskrit poems called the *Rámáyana* and the *Mahábhárata*. From these we learn that the habits of the Aryan-Hindús at this early period were at first those of simple and rude warriors. Even the Ráiás and princes tended cattle, and cleared land for agriculture by burning down the jungle; they marked the calves of their herds at stated times, and regularly performed most of the duties of farmers and rustics. All the men of a tribe, rich and poor, were brought up together, and trained to defend their crops and cattle against enemies and robbers; and thus they were all more or less proficient in pugilism, wrestling, archery, throwing stones, casting nooses, and the use of weapons. At their banquets they were in the habit of eating flesh-meat and drinking wine, just as the other Aryans, who had gone westward into Europe, were in the habit of doing; but otherwise their meals were quite simple. They were continually engaged in warfare against the black-skinned

aborigines, who were sometimes called Daityas, sometimes Asuras, and often represented as Rákshasas (monsters), or Nágas (serpents).

Gradually, however, the Aryan-Hindús became more civilised and even luxurious, as they acquired greater riches by their conquests. In the latter part of the Heroic Age, when the Aryans had conquered all Northern India, or *Aryavartta*, as far as Bengal, and had made slaves of all those aborigines who had not been killed or driven away, there appears to have been a great deal of wealth and luxury in the palaces of the Mahárájás; the nobles were rich and powerful; the merchants and the industrial classes had become wealthy, and under the name of *Vaisyas* formed one of the three higher or 'twice-born' castes of which we shall speak presently.

§ 5. *Legends of the Heroic Age.*—It was said above that most of the legends of the Heroic Age have been preserved in the great epic poems, the *Rámáyana* and the *Mahábhárata*. The former is devoted to an account of the exploits of the hero Ráma, a scion of the royal solar (or *sun-descended*) race of Ayodhyá or Oudh. The childhood and youth of Ráma, his marriage with the beautiful Sítá, and his banishment to the great forest of Dandaka (the jungles of Central India), are all described in most beautiful and glowing language; but the part that is historically most important is that which describes the invasion of Southern India and Lanká, or Ceylon, by the Aryan conqueror Ráma. Ráma was afterwards worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu.

The grand poem called the *Mahábhárata* contains a vast number of legends, of which the chief is that of the great war between the *Pándus* and *Kurus*, two branches of a royal family, said to be descended from the moon, and hence called the Lunar Dynasty. The war was to determine which branch should obtain the empire of *Hastinapura*, a town near the modern site of Dehli. Krishna, regarded (like Ráma) as an *Avatár*, or incarnation of Vishnu, was an

ally of the Pándus, and is one of the most important characters in the *Mahábhárata*. The decisive battle lasted for eighteen days, and was fought on the field of *Kurukshetra*;* and the poem records that in this battle appeared, as allies on one side or the other, the ancestors of most of the princes of India of later times. The five Pándava princes were triumphant; but shortly afterwards they retired to the Himálayas with their joint-wife Draupadí, and were translated to heaven by the god Indra.

CHAPTER III.

MANU, THE GREAT LAWGIVER OF THE HINDÚS.

§ 1. The Brahmanic Age. § 2. The Laws of Manu. § 3. The Hindú Schools of Philosophy.

§ 1. *The Brahmanic Age.*—When the Aryan-Hindús had thoroughly conquered the whole of North India from the Indus to Bengal, and great Hindú empires had been established in various parts of the country under Mahárájás descended from those conquerors, the Heroic Age may be said to come to an end; and it was succeeded by a period of peace and prosperity, marked chiefly by the wonderfully-increased influence of the *Brahmans*, who now became by far the most powerful class amongst the Hindús. Hence this period of Indian history, following the Heroic Age, is sometimes called the *Brahmanic* Age; it lasted from a very early time (*how* early we do not know) to about 300 B.C.

§ 2. *The Laws of Manu.*—The manners and customs of

* The site of Kurukshetra is the plain south of Ambálah, on the road to Dehlí, near the famous battlefield of Tháneswar [*see* Chap. IX.] Further south, still on the road to Dehli, is the famous battlefield of Pánipat [*see* Chap. X.] North of Ambálah was the ancient fortress of Sirhind [*see* Chap. IX.]

the Hindús during the Bráhmanic Age are fully illustrated and described in one of the *Smritis*, or *Dharmasástras*, called the Mánava Dharmasástra, or Laws of Manu.

NOTE.—The religious writings of the Hindús are divided into *Sruti*, to which the Vedas belong, and *Smriti*, including all the other writings regarded as sacred, but not possessing that divine authority ascribed to the Vedas.*

Of the great lawgiver Manu himself we know nothing certain, but his laws give us a good general view of Hindú society as it existed during the Bráhmanic period.

The distinct and authoritative settlement of the caste system is one of the most prominent features of the laws of Manu. The four castes were: (1) the Bráhman, or priestly caste; (2) the Kshatriya, or military caste; (3) the Vaisya, or industrial caste; (4) the Sudra, or servile caste. The first three castes were called 'twice-born,' and all the laws tend to their elevation and to the depression of the Sudras.

The most striking points in the caste system as it existed at the time of these laws were:—

First, the extraordinary dignity and sanctity accorded to the Bráhmans, for whose good all other persons and all things were thought to be made; some of their privileges were also enjoyed, but in a far smaller degree, by the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas.

Secondly, the bitter contempt and even hatred felt and displayed against the Sudras; their only duty was to serve the other castes, and especially the Bráhmans; but if they were unable to obtain any service, then they were allowed to earn a precarious subsistence (but never to get rich) by means of handicrafts. This degraded condition of the Sudras seems to indicate that they were the remains of conquered races, the conquerors being the 'twice-born.'

Thirdly, the absence of any provision for the regular performance of the mechanical arts and handicrafts, when the Sudras were able to find service as prescribed in the

law. These functions were probably performed, as now, by the *mixed castes*—*i.e.* the castes formed by intermarriages between the four original castes.

It may be noted that the Kshatriyas and Vaisya castes are said by some to be now extinct; though the Rájpúts and a few other tribes claim to be descended from the former, and a few industrial tribes call themselves Vaisyas. The great majority of Hindús now belong to the mixed castes, which castes maintain their caste distinctions with even more care than was formerly exhibited by the original castes.

The government in the various States was under a Rájá, whose power was despotic, according to the arrangements of Manu, except that he was bound to abide by the advice of the Bráhmans. It is a noteworthy fact that as the power of the Bráhmans increased, the jurisdiction of the Rájás became more despotic. Under the king were the lords of 1,000 villages; under each of the latter were lords of 100 villages,—the hundred villages corresponding to what is now called a Parganah. Under these again were the headmen of the villages, the *Mandals* or *Patels*; and all these officers were regarded as officers of the Rájá.

In the village communities the system of administration seems to have been almost identical with that which has prevailed in India for ages. The headman settled with the Rájá the sum to be paid as revenue, apportioned these payments amongst the villagers, and was answerable for the payments and for the good conduct of the village. He held a portion of land rent-free, and he also received fees from the villagers, and was sometimes paid a salary by the Government. In all disputes he acted as umpire, assisted by arbitrators named by the disputants. The headman was assisted by various other officials, of whom the chief were the accountant and the watchman; all these officials were paid by fees, by assignments of rent-free land, and sometimes by salaries.

The Laws of Manu regarding crimes were very rude,

but not cruel; those regarding property were fair and good; and in both, directions were given about the most minute matters of daily life. The worst points were the favour shown to the higher castes and the oppression of the Sudras.

High regard for immemorial custom is an important feature in the Laws of Manu. The marriage laws were fair and just; the wife was commanded strictly to obey her husband, and other women to obey their natural guardians; but every provision was made for the welfare of the female sex. Bráhmans were ordered to divide their lives into four portions; in their youth they were to be students, and to observe celibacy; in the second portion of their lives they were to live with their wives as householders, and discharge the ordinary duties of Bráhmans; in the third portion they were to live as hermits in the woods, and submit to very severe penances; in the fourth they were to engage solely in contemplation, and were freed from all ceremonial observances. The arts of life in this period, though still in a simple state, were not rude; and the numerous professions spoken of (goldsmiths, carvers, artists, &c.) show that the people possessed most things necessary to civilisation.

§ 3. *The Hindú Schools of Philosophy.*—The Hindús have always been fond of the study of philosophy; and it is probable that this study much influenced the national mind during the Bráhmanic period, and had some share in inducing them to accept Buddhism [*see* next chapter]. Six great sects or *schools* of philosophy were founded amongst the Hindús at various unknown times. These six *Darsanas* were: (1) the *Sánkhya* system, founded by Kapila; (2) the *Yoga* system of Patanjali; (3) the *Nyáya* system of Gautama; (4) the *Vaiseshika* system of Kanáda; (5) the *Purva-Mimánsá* of Jaimini; and (6) the *Uttara-Mimánsá* or *Vedánta* of Vyása.

CHAPTER IV.

BUDDHA AND BUDDHISM.

§ 1. Buddha, a great Reformer. § 2. The spread of Buddhism.

§ 1. *Buddha, a great Reformer.*—About the middle of the 6th century B.C. (*i.e.* about 550 B.C.), a young prince was born to the Rájá of Kapilavastu, a kingdom probably situated in Gorákhpur or Nepál, at the foot of the Himálaya Mountains, north of Oudh. This prince was named *Sákya Muni*, or *Gautama*, and he was afterwards known as BUDDHA, or the Enlightened. He belonged of course to the Kshatriya or soldier caste, but from his youth upwards he was much addicted to study and contemplation. At an early age he left his father's palace in order to become a devotee, first as a disciple of the Bráhmans, and afterwards in a lonely hermitage. Finally, he devised a new religion, which, under the name of *Buddhism*, afterwards became the chief religion in India for about a thousand years, and which is still the religion of about one-third of the human race. He now claimed the title of *Buddha*, and spent the rest of his life in preaching the doctrines of this new religion, in teaching that all men are really equal, without respect to caste, and that salvation is to be attained by indifference to worldly pleasures and desires, and by the practice of the great virtues of truth, purity, honesty, and (above all) *maitri*, or charity and benevolence towards all created beings. The great aim of Buddhism was to obtain *Nirvána* or annihilation, by which alone, according to the teachings of Buddha, man can obtain salvation from human passions and sorrows, and from the eternal transmigrations of the soul. The pure and simple morality of Buddhism commended it to the people; and before the death of Buddha it is probable that a great part of Bihár and the neigh-

bouring provinces belonged to the new religion—the King of Magadha [*see* next chapter] being one of the converts

§ 2. *The Spread of Buddhism.*—The doctrines of Buddha rapidly spread into other parts of India; and afterwards into Tibbat, Burmah, Siam, Ceylon, and China. A Buddhist Council, or meeting of the chief followers of the faith, was held shortly after his death. Another council followed it; and a third was held in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Asoka [*see* Chap. VI.], when Buddhism had become the state or royal religion of India. At one or other of these councils the Sacred Books or Holy Scriptures of the Buddhists were drawn up. They were called the *Tripitaka*, or *Three Baskets*.

CHAPTER V.

THE GREEKS IN INDIA.

§ 1. The Invasion of the Panjáb by the Persians. § 2. The Invasion of Alexander the Great. § 3. The Invasion of India by Seleucus. § 4. The Bactrian Greeks. § 5. Greek Accounts of the Ancient Hindús.

§ 1. *The Invasion of the Panjáb by the Persians.*—During the lifetime of Buddha, a great king of the Persians, named *Darius Hystaspes*, invaded the Panjáb. He crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats, which was built for him by his Greek admiral, Skylax. He succeeded in conquering a part of the Panjáb, which he formed into a Persian *satrapy*, that is, a province governed by a *satrap*, or viceroy.

§ 2. *The Invasion of Alexander the Great.*—Nearly two hundred years afterwards the Empire of Persia was conquered by the Greeks under Alexander the Great, King of Macedon; and in the year 327 B.C. Alexander proceeded to invade India.

In his march through the Panjáb he had to cross the river Jhelam, near a place named Gujarát, in modern times

famous as the scene of the final great defeat of the Sikhs by the English in 1848 [*see* Chapter XXXII.] Here he was met by the combined armies of the Rájás of this part of India, commanded by a prince belonging to the *Paurava* dynasty, who was called by the Greeks *Porus*. In the great battle that followed the Indian army was more numerous than the Greek, and had moreover the advantage of two hundred elephants and three hundred war-chariots. The Indians fought bravely, according to the account of the Greeks; but they were unable to withstand the discipline of Alexander's army. The two sons of Porus were killed, and his army utterly routed. Alexander, pleased with the courage of Porus, treated him kindly. He not only restored him to his kingdom, but also enlarged its extent; and Porus was henceforth a faithful ally of the Greeks.

After this Alexander wished to press on and conquer the great Empire of Magadha, of which we shall hear in the next chapter; but he found so much difficulty in conquering the Panjáb, that the Greek soldiers refused to march further than the banks of the Satlej, and Alexander was compelled to return to his Persian dominions. He himself, with part of his army, marched back through the deserts of Bilúchistán; whilst the rest of the army, under the great admiral Nearchus, went home by sea from the mouth of the Indus through the Persian Gulf to the river Euphrates.

§ 3. *The Invasion of India by Seleucus.*—After the death of Alexander, one of the best of his generals, named Seleucus, seized on a part of his Asiatic conquests, and determined to renew Alexander's attempt to conquer India. Chandragupta [*see* next chapter], called by the Greeks Sandracottus, was at this time the King of Magadha, and the richest and most powerful monarch in India; and Seleucus actually marched as far as the Ganges in order to attack him. A treaty, however, was made by which Seleucus agreed to give Chandragupta his daughter in marriage, and gave up to him the provinces east of the Indus in return for a tribute of fifty elephants.

§ 4. *The Bactrian Greeks.*—Bactria was the name of that province of the Greek empire in Asia that was north of Afghánistán; it is now called Balkh. Under the successors of Seleucus the Greek governors of Bactria became kings, and for some centuries the kings of Bactria maintained a powerful empire in this part of Asia, which often included large portions of the west and north-west of India. Ultimately, a dynasty of Bactrian kings, who all bore the name of *Sotér*, were driven out of their northern dominions into India; and for many years they ruled over an empire which included Sindh, part of the North-West Provinces, the Panjáb, and Afghánistán.

§ 5. *Greek Accounts of the Ancient Hindús.*—The most striking points about the Greek accounts of the state of India at this time are:—

(1) Their general agreement with the accounts in Manu; (2) the little change that has since occurred during two thousand years; (3) the favourable impression which the manners and condition of the Hindús made on the Greeks. The men are described as braver than any Asiatics whom the Greeks had yet met, and singularly truthful. They are said to be sober, temperate, and peaceable; remarkable for simplicity and integrity; honest, and averse to litigation. The practice of widows becoming *satí* had already been introduced, but probably only partially; for it is spoken of by Aristobulus as one of the extraordinary local peculiarities which he heard of at Taxila.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TRIUMPH AND DECLINE OF BUDDHISM.

§ 1. Chandragupta, King of Magadha. § 2. Asoka. § 3. The Decline of Buddhism. § 4. The Jainas.

§ 1. *Chandragupta, King of Magadha.*—We have already had occasion to speak once or twice of the kings of Ma-

gadha or Bihár. Their capital was at Patna, on the Ganges, then called Pátaliputra. We have mentioned a king of Magadha, who was one of the converts of the great Buddha himself; and another king of Magadha, whose power and riches attracted the envy of Alexander the Great. The name of this king was Nanda, the Rich, and he was succeeded by the famous CHANDRAGUPTA, the founder of the great Mauryan dynasty of kings, who was the first to bring all North India under one umbrella. Chandragupta was said to be a man of low origin, who succeeded in mastering the Panjáb after the retreat of Alexander the Great, and ultimately possessed himself of Nanda's empire in Magadha. He subsequently married the daughter of the Greek King of Syria, Seleucus; and during his prosperous reign of twenty-four years (from 315 to 291 B.C.), he conquered a considerable portion of Northern India.

§ 2. *Asoka.*—The conquests of Chandragupta were continued by his son; but the greatest monarch of the whole dynasty, and indeed the greatest monarch of ancient times in India, was Chandragupta's grandson, ASOKA. He ascended the throne of Magadha about the year 263 B.C., and reigned for about forty years, until 223 B.C. During his rule Buddhism became the state or royal religion of the empire, having been proclaimed as such at the third great Buddhist Council [*see* Chap. IV., § 2], held under the patronage of Asoka, in the seventeenth year of his reign. Many inscriptions made by order of Asoka have been recently discovered in various parts of India, containing some of his laws and proclamations. These are called the *edicts* of Asoka, and prove that his kingdom extended at least to Orissa and the eastern parts of the Dakhin, on the one side of India, and to the west of Gujárát and to the extreme north of the Panjáb, on the other side.

§ 3. *The Decline of Buddhism.*—The Mauryan line of kings reigned for more than a hundred years in Bihár, and was succeeded by other powerful Buddhist dynasties in succession; and Buddhism was flourishing in Magadha as late

as the seventh century A.D., when it was visited by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, *Hiouen Thsang*. It is probable, however, that after the fall of the great Mauryan dynasty of Buddhists the religion of the Bráhmans began gradually to revive throughout India. Though Buddhism existed in India until the twelfth century A.D.—that is, for more than 1,300 years longer—and often was the religion of powerful kings and great states, yet on the whole it declined from this time, about 200 B.C. Whilst the great city of Kanauj had always remained devoted to Bráhmanism, the other cities and kingdoms of India one by one returned to a modified form of their earlier religion, the same form as that which is now professed by most Hindús.

§ 4. *The Jainas.*—During the decline of Buddhism another religion, called *Jainism*, was very powerful in India. In point of doctrines it was midway between Buddhism and Bráhmanism; it originated about 600 A.D., and declined after 1200 A.D., though many *Jainas* are still to be found in various parts of India.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REVIVAL OF BRÁHMANISM.

§ 1. The Puránas. § 2. The rise of the Rájpúts. § 3. Maiwár and other Rájpút States. § 4. The Hindú Kings of Bengal. § 5. The Kings of the Dakhin.

§ 1. *Puránas.*—The Puránas are the later religious books of the Bráhmans. They are called *Puránas* because they profess to teach that which is 'old'—the old faith of the Hindús. They are generally supposed to date only from 800 A.D., many of them being of much later date. But they give a view of the religion of the revival of Bráhmanism, and are mainly devoted to an interpretation of the beliefs of the various sects of worshippers of Vishnu, Siva,

&c. Besides this, they are storehouses of mythological and legendary stories; they contain not only genealogies and lives of gods, but also genealogies of kings and heroes; and from some of the latter gleams of historical truth may be derived.

The Puránas are eighteen in number. Though teaching a veneration for the Vedas, the religion is quite different from the Vaidik, and also from that of the Darsanas. It represents the popular Bráhmanical religion of India. Three gods, Brahmá the Creator, Siva the Destroyer, and Vishnu the Preserver, are recognised; though the worship of Brahmá is neglected. Deified heroes, such as Ráma and Krishna, are worshipped as incarnations, or *avatárs*, of Vishnu; and there are also an infinite number of lesser gods.

§ 2. *The Rise of the Rájpúts.*—Of the many centuries during which Bráhmanism was gradually driving Buddhism out of India, the history is so uncertain and obscure that we shall not dwell upon it at length. The period was marked by the rise and progress of a large number of Rájpút principalities, not only in that part of India which is now called Rájpútána, but also throughout the north of India. Some of these Rájpút principalities still exist, such as Maiwár or Udaipur, and Jodhpur or Marwár; and from the chronicles, which are preserved in the families of the chiefs of these states, some accounts of their early history have been preserved.

Most of these early Rájpút principalities were devoted to Bráhmanism; and the Rájpút princes were doubtless the chief auxiliaries whom the Bráhmans used in recovering their power over India. This is probably the meaning of the legend in the Puránas, which says that the ancestors of the Rájpúts were miraculously created in order to drive the enemies of the Vedas out of the land. The legend, which is called the 'legend of the *Agnikulas*,' is as follows:—When the holy Rishis, or sages, who dwelt on Mount Abú, complained that the Vedas were trampled un-

der foot, and that the land was in the possession of Rákshasas (or Buddhists), they were ordered by Brahmá to re-create the race of Kshatriyas, who had been extirpated by Parasu Ráma. This was effected by purifying the 'fountain of fire' with water from the Ganges, when there sprang from the fountain four warriors, called the *Agnikulas*, or generation of fire, who, amidst many marvels, cleared the land of the Rákshasas. Many of the modern Rájpúts claim descent from these Agnikulas, who thus propagated Bráhmanism.

For some centuries during the period of which we are speaking the most powerful family in India, and the greatest of all the Rájpút dynasties, was called *Andhra*. Branches of this great family reigned in Magadha (whence they had expelled the Buddhist kings), in Warangal, in that part of the Dakhin called Telingánah, south of Orissa, and also in Ujjáin, in Málwah,* which was the most famous city of India at that time. The greatest king of the Andhra dynasty was the heroic VIKRAMÁDITYA, King of Ujjáin. He is said to have sprung from the Pramaras, the chief race of the Agnikulas; and innumerable legends are told of the extent of his conquests, of his bravery and virtue, of the beauty of his throne, and the magnificence of his court. Some of these legends are doubtless true of Rájá Vikramáditya himself; whilst others probably belong to the lives of other great kings of ancient times, whose names had been forgotten by the old historians, or had never been known to them, so that they assigned all the grandeur and all the conquests to Vikramáditya. These old historians say that he was unequalled in wisdom, justice, and valour, and that he had spent a large part of his life in travelling through various countries as a *faqír*, in order to learn the wisdom and arts of foreign nations. It is said that he was fifty years old

* Ujjáin, in Málwah, on the river Siprá, is now included in a detached portion of the dominions of Mahárájá Sindia [*see* Chap. I., § 3 (*b*)] in the Central India Agency.

before he attempted to make any conquests; and that then, within a few months, he subdued the countries of Málwah and Gujarát, and soon became Mahárájá Adhiráj of India [*see* next sec.] In the midst of all the grandeur of his court he lived a life of the strictest temperance; he slept upon a mat, and the only furniture of his room was an earthen pot filled with pure water. The great poet *Kálidása*, who wrote the famous drama called *Sakuntalá*, and the beautiful lyric poem called *Meghadúta*, was one of the learned who adorned his court, and who were therefore called its 'gems.' The era of Vikramáditya, 57 B.C., is still widely current in Hindústán; in the Dakhin the era of *Sáliváhana*, 77 A.D., is sometimes used. Sáliváhana was a great protector of Bráhmans, who was king of Patan, on the river Godávarí.

§ 3. *Maíwár and other Rájpút States.*—The name *Maíwár* is a contraction of Madyawár, and means the 'Central Region;' and its princes ruled, at a later period, before the invasion of the Muhammadans, over a large tract of country in Rájpútána and Málwah. They belonged to the Gehlot family of Rájpúts, who had ruled successively at Kanauj and at Vallabhi, in Gujarát. The Gehlot Rájpúts were driven out of Vallabhi by an invasion of Persians about the year 500 B.C.; but the Gehlot prince, who was called *Goha*, married the daughter of the Persian king, and established the Gehlot dynasty in Maíwár. The descendant of Prince Goha still reigns in Maíwár as the Maháráná of Udaipur, who is one of the great feudatory chiefs of the British Indian Empire.

Besides Maíwár there were many other great Rájpút States both in Hindústán and in the Dakhin; and at the time of the Muhammadan invasions these Rájpút Rájás, with the King of Bengal, commanded the allegiance of all the Hindú principalities of Northern India. Sometimes one of these kingdoms became much more powerful than any of the others, and then its king was called MAHÁRÁJÁ ADHIRÁJ, or Lord Paramount; sometimes the King of Maíwár was Mahárájá Adhiráj; sometimes the King of Ajmír,

who was a Tuar Rájpút; sometimes the King of Dehli, who was a Chohan Rájpút; sometimes the King of Kanauj, who was a Ráhtor Rájpút;* and sometimes the King of Patan in Gujarát, who was a Salonkhya Rájpút.

§ 4. *The Hindú Kings of Bengal.*—It is said that, from the times of the *Mahábhárata* to the period of the Muhammadan invasion in A.D. 1203, four dynasties of kings reigned in Bengal. Of these, the last but one was a series of princes whose name was Pál, who reigned from the eighth to the latter part of the tenth century. They are thought to have been Buddhists. Of one Rájá of this family, Deva Pál Deva, it is stated that he reigned over the whole of India, and that he had even conquered Tibbat. This statement probably simply means that this Rájá was acknowledged as Mahárájá Adhiráj. The capital of the dynasty was at Gaur; it was afterwards transferred to Nuddea (Nadiyá or *Navadwipa*).

The Pál dynasty was succeeded by another line of kings called Sena. About 964 A.D. a king belonging to this family reigned in Bengal named Adisúra, who invited five Bráhmans from Kanauj to settle in Bengal. The Bráhmans came, each attended by a Káyastha. These are said to be the ancestors of the five high classes of Bráhmans and Káyasthas in Bengal. Adisúra was probably the founder of the Sena dynasty.

One of the Sena kings, named Ballála Sena, settled the precedence of the descendants of the five Kanaujya Bráhmans. The last was Lakhmaniyá, or Su Sena, driven out from Nadiyá by Bakhtiár Khilji [*see* Chap. XI., § 3].

§ 5. *The Kings of the Dakhin.*—Far away in the south of India several powerful kingdoms existed during this period, of which the only ones we need mention are the *Pándya* dynasty of Madura and the Chola dynasty, first at Kánchipuram (Conjeveram), and afterwards at Tanjor;

* Some time in the eleventh century A.D. the Rahtors were driven out of Kanauj by another set of Rajpúts, and established themselves in Marwár, and their representative at the present day is the Mahárájá of Jodhpur or Marwar.

and the Chera dynasty, in the extreme south and on the Western or Malabar coast.

In Orissa the Kesari or 'Lion' kings ruled for centuries at Jájpur and afterwards at Katak, and were followed by the Gangá Vansa, or 'Gangetic' dynasty. The kings of Orissa bore the title of *Gajpati*, or 'Lord of Elephants.'

CHAPTER VIII.

SULTAN MAHMÚD OF GHAZNÍ.

§ 1. Muhammadan Invasions of India. § 2. Sultan Mahmúd. § 3. Decline and Fall of the Ghaznaví Dynasty.

§ 1. *Muhammadan Invasions of India.*—We have now arrived at the period when the Muhammadans first began to invade and conquer India; and from this time the history is full and clear, for the Muhammadans were always fond of the study of history, and there were always some Muhammadan writers who wrote down an account of events that occurred shortly after they happened.

As early as the year 712 A.D., and only ninety years after the foundation of the Muhammadan religion in Arabia, a Musalmán Arab, named *Muhammad Káśim*, invaded and conquered Sindh, and held it for a short time. But it was not until the end of the tenth century, when the religion of the Prophet had spread over Afghánistán and all those regions of Central Asia to the north-west of India, that the great Muhammadan invasions took place.

Sabaktigín, Sultán of Ghazní, in Afghánistán (called the first of the Ghaznaví dynasty), was originally a Turki*

* The wandering hordes of Tártárs that inhabited the whole of Central Asia from the Caspian Sea to the north of China were divided into three great races: (1) the *Manchús*, who lived furthest to the east, in the north of China; (2) the *Mongols* or *Mughuls*, who lived in the centre, from Tibbat northward; and (3) the Turkís, who lived west of the Mughuls.

slave; by his bravery and abilities he rose to be monarch of a vast empire, including Afghánistán, Bilúchistán, and Túrkistán. A pleasing legend is told by some of the old historians to illustrate the kind and merciful disposition of Sabaktigín, which so much endeared him to his followers. It happened, when he was only a poor horseman in the service of the chief of Ghazní, that he was hunting one day in the forest. He saw a deer grazing with her fawn; on which, putting spurs to his horse, he rode up and seized the fawn, laid him across his saddle, and rode away homewards. When he had gone a little way he looked back, and saw the mother of the fawn following with piteous cries and moans. The soul of Sabaktigín melted into pity; he untied the feet of the fawn and let him go. The happy mother ran away with her fawn to the forest, but often looked back, as if to thank Sabaktigín for his generosity. That very night Sabaktigín had a dream, in which he thought a celestial being appeared to him and said: 'The kindness and pity which you have this day shown to a distressed animal has been pleasing to God, and it is therefore recorded that you shall one day be King of Ghazní. But take care that greatness does not destroy your virtue, or make you less kind to men than you now are to dumb animals.'

Sabaktigín was once attacked, in the valley of Pesháwar, that leads from Afgháuistán into the Panjáb, by the Bráhman King of Láhor, named Jaipál; and in revenge he twice overran the whole of the Panjáb, and carried back a vast amount of plunder to Ghazní—having totally defeated, not only Jaipál himself, but also all his Rájpút allies, who had assembled from Dehli, Ajmír, and Kanauj, to aid in repelling the fierce invader.

Note.—The Bráhman dynasty that was at this time reigning in Láhor, the chief town of the Panjáb, is sometimes called the 'Bull and Horseman' dynasty, because their coins bear the device of a bull and a horseman.

§ 2. *Sultán Mahmúd.*—In these battles between the Sultán of Ghazní and the Rájá of Láhor, there was present the young prince MAHMÚD of Ghazní, the son of Sabaktigín. He observed with keen pleasure both the great riches of the Indian Rájás, and the ease with which even the bravest of the Rájpúts were slaughtered by the hardy and strong mountaineers of Ghazní; and he determined that, on succeeding his father as Sultán of Ghazní, he would devote himself to the conquest of India.

In the year 996 A.D., Sabaktigín died, and Mahmúd immediately proceeded to carry out his early determination. His earnest wish was both to possess himself of the wealth of India, and also to force the proud Rájpúts to accept the Muhammadan religion; and in honour of his zeal for Islám, the spiritual head of the Muhammadans, called the Khalíf, sent him a *khilat* of extraordinary magnificence, together with the high-sounding titles of 'Right Hand of the State, Guardian of the Faith, and Friend of the Chief of the Faithful.' The 'Chief of the Faithful' was of course the Khalíf himself, who doubtless hoped that Mahmúd would diffuse the Muhammadan religion throughout India. Mahmúd hereupon vowed that 'every year he would undertake a holy war against Hindústán.'

During the thirty-four years of his reign, Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní invaded India seventeen times; and of these seventeen expeditions, twelve are famous. His zeal in the destruction of Hindú temples and idols obtained for him the name of 'the Image-breaker;' and the vast plunder which he carried away from India greatly enriched his own country, and made Ghazní the most beautiful and the wealthiest city of the age. The richest spoils were those of the great Hindú shrines of Nagarkot in the Himálayas, Tháneswar between the Saraswatí and the Jamnah, and Somnáth in Gujarát; and those of the sacred city of Mathurá.

It may be noted that Mahmúd's expeditions extended as far eastward as Kanauj in Oudh, and as far southward

as Somnáth in Gujarát; but he only made a permanent settlement in the Panjáb, where he established a Viceroy at Láhor. *This was the commencement of Musalmán dominion in India.*

The most famous of Mahmúd's expeditions were the twelfth and the sixteenth. The twelfth expedition, in A.D. 1018-19, was against Kanauj and the sacred city of Mathurá or Muttra, on the Jamnah. Mahmúd was now determined to penetrate into the heart of Hindústán. His army consisted of 100,000 horse and 20,000 foot; these were gathered from all parts of his dominions, including the recent conquests which he had made in Bukhára and Samarkhand. He marched from Pesháwar along the foot of the mountains, crossing the Panjáb rivers as near to their sources as possible; and presented himself before Kanauj. This was a stately city full of incredible wealth; and its kings, who often held the title of *Mahárájá Adhiráj*, kept a splendid court. The Rájá threw himself on the generosity of Mahmúd, who admitted him to his friendship, and after three days left his city uninjured.

From thence he advanced to Mathurá, sacred as the birthplace of Krishna; which was given up to the soldiers for twenty days. Its temples struck Mahmúd with admiration, and kindled in him the desire to cover the barren rocks of Ghazní with similar edifices. Hindú slaves after this were sold in the army of the conqueror at two rupees each.

The sixteenth expedition (which was also the last, except a small and unimportant one a little later) was undertaken by Mahmúd in 1026-27 A.D., against the famous temple of Somnáth in the Gujarát peninsula. The march was long, including 350 miles of desert; and Mahmúd made extraordinary preparations for it. He passed through Multán, and thence across the desert to Anhalwárá or Nahrwala, the ancient capital of Gujarát; whose Rájá, named Bhím, fled before him. The struggle before Somnáth was terrible, and lasted three days. The Rájpút

princes assembled from all parts to defend their holiest shrine; but their desperate valour was unavailing against the bravery and enthusiasm of Mahmúd and his veterans. The treasure obtained was immense; some of the Muhammadan historians say that the image of Somnáth (which the Bráhmans had offered to ransom by the payment of many crores of gold coins), when broken by Mahmúd's own hand, was found to contain a mass of rubies and other precious stones far exceeding in value the offered ransom.

An interesting story is told of Mahmúd to show his magnanimity and the readiness with which he accepted good advice even when it was disagreeable. It is said that some Biluchi robbers having taken possession of a strong fortress on the road by which merchants travelled from Ghazní into Persia, were in the habit of plundering all the caravans that passed that way. One day they robbed a body of merchants, and killed a young man of Khorásán, who was of their number. His old mother complained to Mahmúd, who told her that such accidents occurred in that part of the country because it was too far from his capital for him to be able to prevent them. The old woman replied, 'Keep no more territory than you can manage properly.' The Sultán was so much struck by the justice of this remark, that he ordered a strong guard to be furnished to all caravans traversing that road; and proceeded to extirpate the robbers that infested it.

Another well-known story that is told of Mahmúd shows his character in a less favourable light; for it shows that his avarice was even stronger than his sense of justice. *Ferdausi* [*see* Appendix] was one of the greatest poets of the world, and was much encouraged by Mahmúd, who was very fond of poetry. Ferdausi at length determined to write a grand heroic poem, which should make his name and that of his patron Mahmúd famous throughout all ages; and Mahmúd in a fit of generosity declared he would give him a gold muhur (sixteen rupees) for every verse of the

poem. On this promise, the great poet went away, and soon returned with the *Sháh Námeh*, a poem which will be famous as long as the Persian language exists. The poem contained no less than sixty thousand verses; and Mahmúd, repenting of his former generosity, meanly offered Ferdausi only sixty thousand rupees, or one-sixteenth of the sum promised. Ferdausi indignantly refused the offer, and retired from Court. It is said that Mahmúd was afterwards anxious to atone for his meanness by paying the full amount; but that when his messengers arrived with the gold at the house of Ferdausi, they met his dead body, which was being carried out for interment.

§ 3. *Decline and Fall of the Ghaznávi Dynasty.*—The descendants of Mahmúd reigned in the Panjáb for more than a hundred and forty years after his death, though long before that time they had been driven out of their dominions in Central Asia. They were at length conquered by the chieftains of Ghor, which was a hill territory in Afghánistán between Ghazní and Persia; and the last of the race was killed in prison, just before the conquest of Hindústán by Muhammad of Ghor. During this period, the Rájpút Kings of Ajmír, Dehli, Kanauj, Maíwár, and Anhalwárá or Gujarat, were the rulers of Northern India; and were often fighting with one another for the supremacy.

CHAPTER IX.

MUHAMMAD GHORI, AND THE CONQUEST OF HINDÚSTÁN BY THE MUHAMMADANS.

§ 1. Prithví Rájá. § 2. Shahább-ud-dín or Muhammad Ghori. § 3. The decisive battle of Thaneswar. § 4. Completion of the Muhammadan conquest of Hindústan.

§ 1. *Prithví Rájá.*—Of all the princes of Northern India who were reigning at the end of the twelfth century, by far

the greatest and most famous was the King of Ajmír and Dehli.

Prithví Rájá, or Rái Pithaura, represented the flower of Rájpút chivalry; and has always been one of the favourite heroes of the Hindús. His mother was a Tuár Rájpút Princess of Dehli; his father was Someswar, an heir of the Chohán of Ajmír. Jaichand, Rájá of Kanauj, was his cousin, being the son of another Tuár princess, sister of Prithví's mother; Prithví, however, notwithstanding the opposition of Jaichand, had succeeded to the two thrones of Dehli and Ajmír. His praises are sung in the poems of Chand Bardai, his devoted admirer and friend.

§ 2. *Shaháb-ud-dín or Muhammad Ghori.*—But soon the heroic Prithví had to meet an enemy more formidable than any that the Hindús had yet encountered. The fierce and gigantic Afgháns of Ghor had already conquered Multán and the Ghaznaví Kings of Láhor. They were under the command of a bold and determined soldier named *Shaháb-ud-dín*, better known in history as MUHAMMAD GHORI, who was joint Sultán of Ghor with his more peaceful brother Ghiás-ud-dín, and who, though he had been once defeated in an attack on the Rájpúts of Anhalwárá, was bent on effecting the conquest of Hindústán. In 1191 the Ghorian Sultán advanced from Láhor across the Satlej in the direction of Dehli, and captured the fortress of Sirhind, north of the modern Ambálah [*see* note on page 18]. Prithvi marched out to meet him, at the head of a mighty army of Chohán Rájpúts and their allies; and a hard-fought battle took place at a village called *Tiráori* near Tháneswar [*see* note on page 18]. A Muhammadan historian gives the following brief account of this battle:—'The battle-array was formed; and the Sultán Shaháb-ud-dín, seizing a lance, made a rush upon the elephant which carried Gobind Rái of Dehli (one of Prithví's chief heroes). The latter advanced to meet him in front of the battle; and then the Sultán, who was a second Rustam and the Lion of the age, drove his lance into the mouth of the Rái, and

knocked two of the accursed wretch's teeth down his throat. The Rái, on the other hand, returned the blow and inflicted a severe wound on the arm of his adversary. The Sultán reined back his horse and turned aside, and the pain of the wound was so insufferable that he could not support himself on horseback. The Musalmán army gave way, and could not be controlled. The Sultán was just falling, when a sharp and brave young Khiljí Afghán recognised him, jumped upon the horse behind him, and clasping him round the body, spurred on the horse and bore him from the midst of the fight. When the Musalmáns lost sight of the Sultán, a panic fell upon them; they fled and halted not until they were safe from the pursuit of the victors.'

§ 3. *The decisive Battle of Tháneswar.*—Prithví Rájá, after this glorious victory, set to work to form a great confederation of all the Rájpút States, so that he might be able to renew his successes against the dreaded Afgháns if they should return. He was so far successful that no less than 150 Rájpút princes followed his banners, when he marched out a second time to meet Muhammad Ghori; but the persistent jealousy of Prithvi's cousin, Rájá Jaichand of Kanauj, greatly weakened the Hindú cause.

In the meantime Muhammad had returned to Ghor, and had spared no pains to make his army invincible. The punishment he is said to have inflicted on those *Umarás* or chiefs who had run away from the battle-field at Tiráorí is very amusing. He forced them to walk round the city of Ghor with their horses' food-bags, filled with barley, hanging about their necks as if they were donkeys—at the same time forcing them to eat the barley or have their heads struck off; and most of the Umarás preferred to eat the barley. In the following year Muhammad Ghori again advanced upon Dehli burning to avenge his disgrace; and again the Musalmán and Hindú armies met on the field of *Tháneswar*, 1193 A.D. 'One hundred and twenty thousand horsemen bearing heavy armour, and forty thousand light armed cavalry, followed the Muhammadan leader to win

for him the land which he claimed by right of the conquests of Mahmúd of Ghazní, and to force the haughty Rájpúts to accept the religion of the Prophet. On the other hand, hundreds of thousands of brave Rájpúts in the army of Prithví felt that they were fighting for their homes, their country, their religion, and all that was dear to them. They fought with the desperate valour of patriots; but all was of no avail against the hardy and well-disciplined veterans of Muhammad Ghori. Gobind Rái, who had wounded the Sultán in the former battle, was killed in the middle of the contest; and it is said that Muhammad recognised the head of his old foe by the two teeth which he had himself broken. When at length Prithví saw that the day was against him, and that the Hindús were hopelessly routed, he alighted from his elephant; and mounting a horse, he galloped away from the battle-field, in the hope of collecting his scattered forces for another attempt at resistance. He was, however, very soon captured and put to death; and the Muhammadan Empire in India was firmly established by this one battle.

§ 4. *Completion of the Muhammadan Conquest of Hindústán.*—The Rájá Jaichand of Kanauj, traitor not only to his cousin Prithví but also to his country, paid dearly for his folly; for in the following year (1194) he was totally defeated by Muhammad Ghori in a great battle at Chandrawár in the Doáb (now Firúzábád, in the Agra division). Meanwhile Dehli and other Rájpút capitals had been reduced by Kutb-ud-dín. Kutb-ud-dín, famous as the Muhammadan general who completed the conquest of Hindústán, had been the slave and was now the chief commander of the Sultán Muhammad; and the latter had such confidence in Kutb's abilities and loyalty, that he left him as Viceroy in India, whilst he himself went back to Afghánistán. Thirteen years later, Muhammad returned to India; and was assassinated in the Panjáb by a band of Gakkhars, an aboriginal tribe living in that province. In the meantime, Kutb and some other Musalmán generals had

completely conquered the Hindús of Northern India—Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí being the conqueror of Bengal and Bihár [*see* Chap. XI., § 3]; and now, on the death of the Sultán Muhammad, Kutb-ud-dín became Sultán of Dehli and of Hindústán. He was an accomplished warrior; but he was especially famous for his generosity, which earned for him the surname of 'Bestower of Lakhs.' Long after, even in the time of Akbar, when a man was to be praised for his generosity, they would say of him 'he is as generous as Kutb-ud-dín.'

CHAPTER X.

THE PATHÁN OR AFGHÁN SULTÁNS OF DEHLI.

§ 1. The Slave Kings of Dehli. § 2. The Khiljí Kings of Dehli. § 3. The Toghlak Kings of Dehli. § 4. The Sayyid and Lodi Dynasties.

§ 1. *The Slave Kings of Dehli.*—Sultán Kutb-ud-dín, because he had been one of the slaves of Sultán Muhammad Ghori, was called 'the Sultán, the slave of the Sultán of Ghor;' and as in like manner his successors were either slaves or the sons of slaves, the dynasty was called 'the dynasty of the slaves of the Sultáns of Ghor'—or shortly, the 'Slave Kings.' They reigned for nearly a hundred years, until the year 1290 A.D.; and during this period nearly every vestige of the Hindú power in Northern India was destroyed; whilst the Muhammadan generals who had conquered Sindh, Bengal, and other remote provinces, though they often rebelled and endeavoured to make themselves independent, were generally kept in close subjection to the imperial throne of Dehli. The most famous of the sovereigns that reigned during this period were ALTAMSH, his daughter RÁZIAH (the only Empress that ever reigned alone in Dehli), and BALBAN.

Altamsh was the greatest of all the Slave Kings. He reduced to submission both the Muhammadan king of Sindh, and also the Khilji chiefs who had succeeded Muhammad Bakhtyár Khilji as rulers of Bengal. He also subdued all the most important Hindú principalities in Hindústán; and so firmly established his power, that his daughter, three of his sons, and one grandson inherited it in their turn. He ruled from 1210 to 1235 A.D.

Razíah, who was always called *Sultán*, just as if she had been a man, was a woman of wonderful energy and ability, and seemed at first to have inherited all that capacity for government which had distinguished her father Altamsh. She, however, displeased all her nobles by showing undue favour to an Abyssinian slave in her court; and she was at length deposed and put to death, to make room for one of her brothers.

Balban was the vazír of the last of the sons of Altamsh, and had himself married one of the daughters of that monarch. He was a man of unsparing rigour, and kept his army in a high state of discipline. The most important event of his reign was the rebellion of Tughral, whom he had made governor of Bengal; who in 1282 A.D. assumed independence under the title of Sultán Mughis-uddín Tughral, and succeeded in defeating two several armies sent to subdue him. At length the Sultán marched against him in person; and one of his commanders, named Muhammad Sher, coming upon the forces of the rebel somewhat unexpectedly, dashed upon his camp with the most astonishing bravery, though at the head of only forty troopers. The rebels thought that they were attacked by the whole imperial army, and took to flight. Tughral was overtaken, and his head was struck off and brought to the Sultán, who now confided Bengal to the care of his second son, Bughrá Khán. By the death of his elder brother, Bughrá Khán became heir to the empire, and was begged by Balban to come back to Dehli; but he preferred his quiet and secure rule in Bengal, and ultimately his eldest

son Kaikubád became emperor, whilst Bughrá himself remained at Lakhnautí as king of Bengal.

A wicked and ambitious vazír of the Emperor Kaikubád, named Nizám-ud dín, endeavoured to sow discord between the father and son, because Bughrá Khán had warned his son against the machinations of the wicked vazír, and remonstrated with Kaikubád about his licentious habits. The result was that the father and son met, each at the head of an army, in the plains of Bihár. For two days the armies remained encamped near each other; on the third day, the old King of Bengal wrote a letter to his son with his own hand, begging for an interview. At first the wicked vazír succeeded in preventing this interview; and even when it was arranged, he persuaded the weak young Kaikubád that it was necessary for his dignity as Emperor of Hindústán, that his father the King of Bengal should first prostrate himself three times before him. At length the time for the meeting arrived. The son proceeded first to the Darbár tents with great pomp; then the aged father approached slowly, and as soon as he came in sight of the throne, made his first prostration: as he came nearer, he made the second prostration; and when he arrived at the foot of the throne, was about to make the third; when the prince, deeply affected at the humiliation of his father, and stung with remorse at his own undutiful conduct, rushed into the old man's arms; and after tenderly embracing him and imploring his forgiveness, forced him to sit on the throne, whilst he himself took a respectful place below. The designs of the wicked vazír were thus frustrated, and he shortly afterwards died by poison.

Bughrá Khán after this reigned peaceably in Bengal until his death, 1292 A.D.; but his unfortunate son Kaikubád was deposed and assassinated in 1290 by Jalál-ud-dín, the first emperor of the Khiljí dynasty.

§ 2. *The Khiljí Kings of Dehlí, and the Conquest of the Dakhin.*—The Khiljí tribe were nominally Afgháns or Patháns; though really they were Turkís [*see* note on page

32] who had long settled in Afghánistán, and who aided in the Muhammadan conquest of India. Jalál-ud-dín, who was the head of this tribe, was vazír of the Sultán Kaikubád; and he ultimately dethroned and killed his master. The Khiljí dynasty only ruled for thirty years, from 1290 to 1320 A.D.; but this period is an important one, for during the reigns of Jalál-ud-dín and of the ferocious and bloodthirsty ALÁ-UD-DÍN KHILJÍ (nephew and murderer of Jalál-ud-dín), the Muhammadan armies of Dehli conquered the Dakhin.

NOTE.—The three chief states of the Dakhin at that time were Maháráshtra, capital *Deogiri* (afterwards called Daulatábád); Telingánah, capital *Warangal*; and *Dwára Samudra*. Deogiri was situated in the north-west of what are now called the territories of the Nizám of Haidárábád [*see* Chapter I., § 3, (*k*)]; and was still governed by Rájpút Rájás. Warangal was in the north-eastern part of the same territories, and was under the rule of the Andhra Rájás of Rájpút descent [*see* Chapter VM., § 2]. Dwára Samudra was in North Mysore [*see* Chapter I., § 3, (*m*)]; and its Rájás were Rájpúts of the Ballála Dynasty.

During the reign of Jalál-ud-dín Khiljí, Alá-ud-dín marched through the north-west of the Dakhin, and compelled Rámdeo, the Rájá of Maháráshtra, to give up to him a part of his territory, and to pay an enormous tribute. Alá-ud-dín, after he had murdered his uncle and succeeded to the throne of Dehli, sent his greatest general, the famous eunuch Malik Káfúr, four times into the Dakhin. In the course of these expeditions he re-conquered Rámdeo, who had revolted, and sent him to Dehli; where his treatment was so generous, that he returned the attached and faithful vassal of the emperor. The Ballála Rájás of Dwára Samudra were also conquered; Warangal was made tributary; and the whole of the south ravaged as far as Rámeswar or Cape Comorin in the extreme south, where a mosque was built as the sign of Muhammadan supremacy.

Before these conquests in the Dakhin, Alá-ud-dín had himself subjugated Gujarát in 1297; and in 1303 he sacked

the famous fortress of Chitor, the capital of the Rájpút Mahárána of Maiwár. During the campaigns in the Dakhin, a famous incident occurred, which is sufficiently interesting to be mentioned here. Dewál Devi, the daughter of the Rájá of Gujarát, was renowned as the most beautiful damsel in India: and the honour of her hand had been so eagerly sought for by the Hindú princes, that armies had been set in motion on her account. By chance, she and all her escort were captured by the Imperial army: she was sent to Dehli, and there she found her own mother Kamalá Devi established as the favourite queen in the emperor's palace. It was not long before the young heir-apparent, Khizr Khán, saw and appreciated her charms. The love was mutual; and though the emperor was at first angry, he at length consented to the match, and the young lovers were married in due form. The story of their loves has been made the subject of a beautiful, though rather lengthy, Persian poem by Amír Khusrau. The interest in her tale is, however, sadly shaken by her melancholy after-fate, the penalty of her extraordinary beauty. As a widow, she was forcibly married to the two succeeding Sultáns, one after the other; the one being the brother and murderer of her husband, the other the base-born usurper Khusrau.

This Khusrau, who was originally a slave, a Hindú of the lowest caste, was vazír of one of the sons of Alá-ud-dín. He murdered his master and all the adherents of that family, and took the princess Dewál Devi into his own seraglio. Though outwardly a Muhammadan, he persecuted all who belonged to that religion, whilst the Hindús hated him as an upstart and a renegade. Consequently he was soon defeated, and put to death by a Muhammadan chief named Ghází Beg Tughlak, who ascended the throne with the title of Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh.

§ 3. *The Tughlak Kings of Dehli, and the Invasion of Timúr.*—Eight kings of the Tughlak dynasty ruled in Dehli for nearly a hundred years, from 1320 to 1412 A.D.

During this period the great Pathán empire of Dehli gradually fell to pieces, the fragments forming independent and sometimes powerful kingdoms. This was owing partly to the weakness and folly of some of the Tughlak kings, partly to the want of loyalty amongst the great Muhammadan generals, who often regarded themselves as the equals of their master at Dehli. The disintegration of the Pathán empire was hastened, too, by the short but terrible invasion of Tímúr the Tátár, sometimes called *Tamerlane* by European writers, who sacked Dehli in the reign of Mahmúd Tughlak, in 1398 A.D.

The most important reigns of this dynasty were those of Muhammad Sháh (1325—1351); Fírúz Sháh (1351—1388); and Mahmúd Sháh (1392—1412). During the reign of Muhammad Sháh, a large portion of the Dakhin became independent under the *Bahmaní* dynasty [*see* Chap. XI., § 1]; and in the reign of Fírúz Sháh his nephew, Hájí Ilyás, established the independence of the Afghán dynasty of Bengal [*see* Chap. XI., § 3]. Jaunpur, Gujarát, and Málwah became independent Muhammadan kingdoms during the reign of Mahmúd Sháh, the grandson of Fírúz. But the most striking event of this period was the successful invasion of Hindústán by Tímúr, to which reference has already been made, and which foreshadowed the Mughul conquest more than a century afterwards.

Tímúr was of the Chaghtái race, the leader of the immense hordes of Turkís and Mughuls that had subdued all Central and Western Asia. His chief cities were Bukhára and Samarkhand. Though only a rude Tátár, he had some pretensions to learning, and left an account of his life written by himself. These pretensions appear to have induced in him more respect for learned men than was usual amongst the Tátárs. Many learned men accompanied his army on its march; and it is amusing to note that he ordered them in times of danger to be placed behind the women, and the women to be placed behind the army.

Tímúr states in his autobiography that he was induced to invade India because of the civil wars that were raging there between the feeble Sultán Mahmúd and his nobles. The fortress of Bhatnír capitulated to him, notwithstanding which the luckless inhabitants were massacred. Then he marched on towards Dehli; he met the Sultán Mahmúd under the walls, and utterly defeated him, and then entered the Imperial city. Mahmúd fled to Gujarát, whence he did not return to Dehli until long after Tímúr had left India. The latter professed a wish to spare the inhabitants of the city, but a slight disturbance having broken out amongst them, he allowed an indiscriminate slaughter. For five days the conqueror continued feasting, while his troops plundered and slew the hapless citizens; and they carried away captive as many as they were able of those whom they spared, including the wives and children of large numbers of the noblest Afghán and Hindú families. Tímúr almost immediately left India, as he was afraid of insurrection breaking out at home. It was said that each of his soldiers took away a hundred and fifty captives as slaves, even soldiers' boys getting twenty slaves apiece; and the richness of the booty was incalculable.

After the departure of Tímúr, the Dehli empire was in a state of anarchy for a long time, the Sultán Mahmúd having no real power. On the death of the latter in 1412 A.D., the most powerful of the Afghán nobles, named Daulat Khán Lodí, seized the kingdom; but in a short time he was conquered by Sayyid Khizr Khán, whom Tímúr had appointed governor of Multán before he left India.

[NOTE.—The title *Sayyid* amongst Muhammadans indicates descent from Muhammad, the Prophet and Founder of their religion.]

§ 4. *The Sayyid and Lodí Dynasties.*—The Sayyid Khizr Khán at first professed to rule in right of the conqueror Tímúr; but he soon assumed complete independence, and the dynasty founded by him extended to his son, grandson,

and great-grandson, and lasted from 1414 to 1450 A.D. The Sayyid kings, however, were never in any way emperors of Hindústán, for their power seldom extended far from Dehli. At last a great Afghán noble named Buhlol Lodí, who had been governor of Láhor, after several unsuccessful attempts, succeeded setting aside the weak Sayyids, and establishing the Lodí dynasty—the last of the Afghán or Pathán dynasties of Dehli.

Both Buhlol Lodí and his son Sikandar were vigorous and prosperous rulers. The long reign of Buhlol (1450—1488 A.D.) was mainly occupied with a war against the Sultáns of Jaunpur, which lasted no less than twenty-six years, and resulted in the subjugation of that kingdom. Sikandar* established his authority over Bihár and the whole of Northern India, with the exception of Bengal; but the weakness and cruelty of his son, Ibráhím Lodí, again plunged the country into a state of anarchy, and brought about the fall of the Pathán empire. Bábar, the great Chaghtái leader of the Mughuls and Turkís of Central Asia, sixth in descent from Timúr, was invited into India by some of Ibráhím's discontented nobles; in 1524 A.D. he obtained possession of Láhor; and two years later, in 1526 A.D., fought the celebrated battle of Pánipat [*see* note on page 18], in which Ibráhím lost his kingdom and his life. This battle, called the First Battle of Pánipat, transferred the empire of Hindústán from the Pathánst to the Chaghtái (commonly called the *Mughul*) Sultáns.

* Sikandar Lodí transferred the capital of Hindústán from Dehli to Agra; and the latter city was the chief residence of the Sultáns down to the time of Sháh Jahan.

† The Sultáns of Dehli from Muhammad Ghorí to Ibráhím Lodí are commonly called *Pathán* or *Afghán*; but most of them were really not Afghán but Túrkí (*see* note on page 32) in their origin.

CHAPTER XI.

THE RIVALS OF THE DEHLI EMPIRE.

§ 1. The Bahmaní Kingdom and its offshoots in the Dakhin. § 2. The Hindú Kingdom of Vijayanagar. § 3. Bengal. § 4. Jaunpur, Gujarát, and Málwah.

§ 1. *The Bahmaní Kingdom and its offshoots in the Dakhin.* —We have already noticed that during the weak rule of the later Pathán Sultáns of Dehli, a number of other Muhammadan States arose in various parts of India and obtained independence. Of these the greatest was the Bahmaní Kingdom of the Dakhin, founded by an Afghán general named Zafar Khán during the reign of Muhammad Tughlak. Zafar Khán defeated the generals sent against him by the Sultán of Dehli, and established himself at Kulbargah as independent Sultán of the Dakhin. He had formerly been the slave of a Bráhman named Gango, who had treated him with great kindness, and had foretold his future greatness; and in honour of his old master, he now took the title of Sultán Alá-ud-dín Hasan *Gango Bahmaní*, whence the dynasty founded by him is called the Bahmaní dynasty. It consisted of no less than eighteen kings, who in turn ruled the Dakhin for more than one hundred and fifty years, from 1347 to 1526 A.D. In the very year in which the Pathán dynasty was expelled from Dehli by the battle of Pánipat, the last of the Bahmaní kings ceased to reign in the Dakhin. Even before this date, however, several independent States had sprung up on the ruins of the Bahmaní power; and ultimately five great Dakhini kingdoms were formed, which were eventually subjugated by the Mughul Emperors of Dehli. These five dynasties were:—

(1).—The *Ádil Sháhí* dynasty of Bijápur, founded by Adil Sháh in 1489. It had many wars both with the Mah-

rattas [*see* Chap. XVI.] and with the Mughuls, and was finally subverted by Aurangzeb in 1686 A.D.

(2). — The *Nizám Sháhí* kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Chand Bibí defended this state against the armies of Akbar; and Malik Ambar was one of its statesmen and heroes. It was destroyed by Sháh Jahán in 1637 A.D.

(3).—The *Kutb Sháhí* dynasty of Golkondah, on the eastern side of the Dakhin, subverted by Aurangzeb in 1687 A.D.

(4).—The *Imad Sháhí* kingdom of Barár at Ilichpur, annexed by Ahmadnagar in 1574.

(5).—The *Barid Sháhí* dynasty of Bidár.

§ 2. *Vijayanagar.*—The Hindú kingdom of *Vijayanagar* in the Dakhin was founded like the Bahmaní kingdom in the reign of Muhammad Tughlak about 1336 A.D. It was sometimes called the kingdom of Bijánagar or Narsingha, and occupied the territories now called the Madras Presidency [*see* Chap. I., § 3, (*l*)]; and was finally destroyed by a combination of the Muhammadan kings of Bijápur, Ahmadnagar, Golkondah, and Bidár, in the great battle of TALIKOT on the Krishna, A.D. 1565. The aged King of Vijayanagar, named *Rám Rájá*, was slaughtered in cold blood by the allies, who behaved with great cruelty after the battle. The brother of Rám Rájá afterwards established himself at Chandragiri, seventy miles north-west of Madras; and in 1640 A.D. made a grant to the English of the site of the city of Madras.

§ 3. *Bengal.* — Shams-ud-dín Ilyás, commonly called Hájí Ilyás, successfully defended himself in the fort of Ekdálah near Panduah against Fírúz Tughlak in 1353 A.D., and thus established his independence in Bengal. His dynasty lasted with some interruptions for more than a century. At one time a Hindú dynasty, founded by Rájá Ganesa (called by Musalmán writers *Kans*), of Dinájpur, obtained power for a short time.

At a later period, Bengal was ruled by a short-lived dynasty of Abyssinian slaves; and the succession was

much broken in the latter part of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Sultán Alá-ud-dín, a Sayyid, succeeded the Abyssinians in 1489. He gave an asylum to the unfortunate Husain Sháh of Jaunpur, when the latter was defeated by Buhlol Lodí of Dehli; but subsequently was compelled to make an alliance with Sikandar Lodí. Two of his sons reigned after him; the last, Mahmúd Sháh, was expelled by Sher Sháh in 1538; and though restored by Humáyún, he died shortly afterwards.

Members of the family of Sher Sháh ruled in Bengal until 1564; when Sulaimán Sháh, of the Kararáni clan of Afgháns, obtained the throne. He made peace with Akbar's general, Munim Khán. The subjugation of Sulaimán's son, Dáúd, by Akbar and his generals, is narrated in Chapter XII.

§ 4. *Jaunpur, Gujarát, Málwah.*—The vazír of the Emperor Mahmúd Tughlak [*see* Chapter X., § 3] was appointed governor of Jaunpur in the province of Benares, with the title of *Malik-us-Shark*; and in 1393 A.D. he asserted his independence, and founded a powerful kingdom, which lasted until its suppression by Buhlol Lodi in 1474. The Court of the Sultáns of Jaunpur was famous for its splendour, and for the encouragement given to learned men there.

The Muhammadan dynasties of Málwah and Gujarát likewise owed their existence to the feebleness of the later Tughlak kings of Dehli. The territories of the Málwah kingdom were annexed by Bahádúr Sháh, a great and famous king of Gujarát, in 1531. Bahádúr was subsequently killed by the Portuguese; and in 1571 A.D. Gujarát was conquered by Akbar, and added to the Mughul dominions.

CHAPTER XII.

BÁBAR AND HUMÁYÚN, THE FIRST MUGHUL EMPERORS, A.D. 1526—1556.

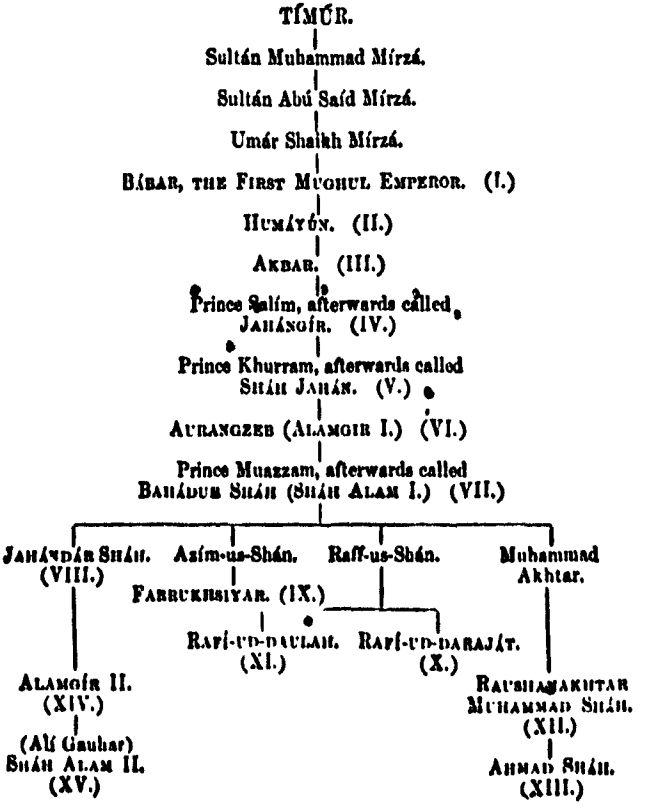
§ 1. Bábar. § 2. Humáyún. § 3. Sher Sháh and the Súr Dynasty.

§ 1. *Bábar.*—It has already been noticed that Bábar, as a descendant of the great Timúr, belonged to the Chaghtái tribe, a tribe nearly akin to the Mughuls. Like his ancestor he wrote an account of his own life, and these *Memoirs* are remarkable for their simplicity and absence of affectation. His early life in Central Asia was one of remarkably diversified fortune. He was sometimes a captive, sometimes a victorious monarch; and his undaunted bravery, patience in adversity, perseverance, and elasticity of mind are truly admirable. The remarks that he used to make in his *Memoirs*, whenever he was successful, show that he deserved success:—'Not to me, oh God! but to thee be the glory of the victory,' said the pious and chivalrous Bábar, when he won the battle of Pánipat as narrated in Chapter X.

This great victory, indeed, only gave him possession of Dehli and Agra, the dominions of Ibráhím Lodí. Prince Humáyún immediately marched eastward, and conquered the whole country as far as Jaunpur. In the following year, 1527, the Rájpúts, under the famous Ráná Sangá of Maiwár, made a determined attempt to expel the invaders from India, in the hope of once more setting up a Hindú empire. The Maháráná was joined by his ally Madiní Rái, to whom he had given the strong fortress of Chanderi, and by the Rájás of Marwár and Jaipur; but he was totally routed by Bábar in the decisive battle of FATHPUR SIKRI, and the storming of Chanderi early in 1528 firmly established the Mughul superiority. The brave Rájpúts of Chanderi perished to a man in the desperate struggle; and

Genealogical Table of the House of Timúr.

The numbers in brackets show the succession of the Mughul Emperors.



in the course of the same year Bihár and Bengal also submitted to Bábar's arms.

Bábar's death is remarkable. Humáyún, his eldest son, was dangerously ill; when Bábar conceived the idea of offering his own life for his son's, according to a well-known Eastern custom. In the accomplishment of this loving resolve, he walked round the bed of the sick youth three times, praying solemnly to God that the disease might be transferred to himself. After this act, he exclaimed, in the full belief that his prayer was heard, 'I have borne it away.' And, strange to say, Humáyún recovered from that hour; while the father, whose health was already decaying, began rapidly to decline. With exhortations on his lips to his children and courtiers, that they should live in concord, he died December 26, 1530.

Bábar's character was disfigured by cruelty to enemies; but he was marvellously brave, patient, and generous. His military skill was very great. Many stories are told to show his keen sense of justice and honour. On one occasion, when a rich caravan from China was lost in the snows on the mountains within his dominions, he ordered all the goods to be collected, and sent messengers to China to proclaim the accident and bring the owners to his Court to receive back their goods. They were at length found, and presented themselves before Bábar after a lapse of two years, when he entertained them sumptuously, and scrupulously gave them all the goods they had lost.

§ 2. *Humáyún.*—Humáyún succeeded, and reigned nominally for twenty-six years, from 1530 to 1556 A.D.; but during nearly sixteen years of this period he was an exile in the Court of Sháh Tahmásp of Persia, and the Afghán *Sher Sár* and his successors were Emperors of Hindústán. A war against *Bahádur Sháh*, King of Gujarát [*see* Chap. XI., § 4] is remarkable on account of a daring exploit performed by Humáyún; with only 300 followers he scaled the walls of Champánir, the strong fortress in which were deposited the treasures of Bahádur.

This war was followed by a fatal attempt to drive *Sher Súr* [*see* § 3] from the throne of Bengal, which he had lately seized. The emperor took *Gaur*, the capital of Bengal; but was subsequently treacherously surprised by Sher in the midst of some negotiations, and only escaped capture by leaping on his horse and plunging in the river Ganges. He was nearly drowned, when a water-carrier rescued him, and brought him safely to the other bank, whence he escaped to Agra. By the aid of his brothers (who had formerly plotted against him, but now united to oppose Sher), he was able to raise another army; but he was again totally defeated in a battle near KANAUJ, and was now compelled to fly to Persia, enduring many hardships in his flight. The Persian king Sháh Tahmásp at first treated him ungenerously, trying to force him to become a *Shiah*, as the Persians were, though Humáyún, like most Hindústáni Muhammadans, was a *Súnní*.

NOTE.—The Shiah and Súnní are the two great sects into which the Muhammadans are divided.

At length, however, he gave him some troops to aid him in regaining his dominions, and in 1555 Humáyún again obtained possession of Dehli and Agra.

§ 3. *Sher Sháh and the Súr Dynasty.*—Sher Súr was a brave Afghán soldier, who had gradually by his skill and valour—unhappily often disgraced by treachery—acquired the sovereignty of Bengal [*see* Chap. XI., § 3]. After the defeat of Humáyún at the battle of Kanauj in 1540, he became Emperor of Hindústán, and for five years ruled wisely and benevolently. He is said to have made a road from Bengal to the banks of the Indus with a caravan-serai at every stage, and wells at intervals of a mile and a half. If his successors of the Súr dynasty had been as wise and brave as Sher, it is probable that Humáyún and his Mughuls would never have been able to return to India. But the third monarch of the line, *Muhammad Adil Sháh*, was a despicable tyrant; and his successors, Ibráhím and Sikandar, were merely rebels against his authority, who

were temporarily successful in establishing themselves at Agra and Dehli. So Humáyún, on his return to India in 1556 with some Persian troops, was soon able, by the aid of his faithful general Bairám Khán [*see* Chap. XIII., § 2] to drive Sikandar Súr away to the Himálaya Mountains, and to take possession of the two capitals. He died six months after re-entering Dehli, 1556; but the empire was still in a very unsettled state, for Sikandar was hovering about the slopes of the mountains with an army, whilst the brave and skilful vazír of Adil Sháh, named Hemú, was on the borders of Bengal.

CHAPTER XIII.

AKBAR, THE GREATEST OF THE MUGHUL EMPERORS. A.D. 1556–1605.

§ 1. The early life of Akbar. § 2. Bairám Khán. § 3. Hemú and the second battle of Pánipat. § 4. The fall of Bairám. § 5. Akbar's Conquests. § 6. Akbar's dealings with the Rájpúts. § 7. The Conquest of Bengal. § 8. Chánd Bíbí of Ahmadnagar. § 9. General remarks on Akbar's character and administration.

§ 1. *The early life of Akbar.*—Akbar was the third Mughul Emperor, and under him the Mughuls overran and conquered all Northern India, and a considerable portion of the Dakhin.

Akbar was born at *Amarkot* in Sindh, whilst his father Humáyún was flying from Sher Sháh, in 1542; and when still an infant (in 1543) he fell into the hands of his uncle Kámrán (who had obtained the government of Kandahár), and remained in his custody until 1555. Akbar's wet-nurse, who had the title of Jí Jí Anagah, with her husband Atgah Khán, had charge of the young child during these years; and the affection which Akbar afterwards displayed, throughout their lives, to his foster-mother and foster-

KABUL
LAHORE
Lahore
Multan
SUBAH OF SIND
Bakkhar
Bikanir
DELHI
Delhi
AJMIR OR RAJPUTANA
Agimere
Odaipur
Chitore
Allahabad
ALLAHABAD
Rohtas
Patna
GARWAL
NEPAL
BIHAR
BENGAL
Sarun
Burdwan
Hugly
MALWA
Ujjain
Ahmadabad
GUJARAT
Cambay
Somnath
Surat
KHANDEISH
Burhanpur
BERAR
Elichpur
GONDWANA
Nagpur
Daulatabad
Ahmednagar
DOAB
AHMADNAGAR
Bidar
GOLKONDAH
Golconda
Bijapur
BIJAPUR
Masulipatam
Mangalor
MYSORE
Seringapatam
Arcot
Calicut
COCHIN
Cochin
INDIA
IN THE TIME OF AKBAR
THE MUGHUL EMPIRE
(divided into Subahs) Marked thus
STANFORD'S GEOG.L ESTABT 55 CHARING CROSS.

father, is well known. Many years afterwards Atgah Khán was slain in the royal palace by the dagger of a noble named Adham Khán; when Akbar himself immediately ran to the spot, struck Adham Khán a blow in the face, which sent him spinning to the ground, and then had him thrown headlong from a pinnacle of the palace. The son of Jí Ji Anagah, called Mirzá Aziz, was raised to the highest rank by Akbar; and, with the title of Khán-i-Azam, was one of the greatest generals under Akbar and his successor. Aziz, who was a very bold man, often offended Akbar; but the latter would never punish him, always saying 'between me and Aziz there is a river of milk, which I cannot cross.'

When Humáyún died, Akbar was only thirteen years and four months old; and the young prince, with his guardian or *atáliq* the great Bairám Khán, had to encounter the Afghán armies both of Adil Sháh and of Sikandar.

§ 2. *Bairám Khán.*—Bairám Khán was a *Shiah* of Turkish descent, and his name is one of the most distinguished in Indian history. He had been the faithful companion of Humáyún in his exile; and whilst in Persia, had been made a Khán by Sháh Tahmásp. An interesting story is told of the devotion to him of one of his followers named Abul Kásim, Governor of Gwáliár. Bairám was flying from Sher Sháh; and was on his way to Gujarát, when he was intercepted by one of Sher Sháh's commanders. Abul Kásim was with him; and, being a man of imposing stature, was mistaken for Bairám. The latter immediately stepped forward, and said, 'I am Bairám.' 'No,' said Abul Kásim, 'he is my attendant, and brave and faithful as he is, he wishes to sacrifice himself for me; so let him off.' Abul Kásim was then killed, and Bairám escaped to the protection of the King of Gujarát, and thence to Persia.

Humáyún's restoration to the throne of Hindústán may justly be ascribed to the military skill and general abilities of Bairám. He won the battle of *Máchhiwárah*, which was

the first great blow to the Afghán power; and just before Humáyún's death, was appointed *atáliq* of Prince Akbar, and sent with him against Sikandar Súr. On Akbar's accession he received the title of *Khán Bábá*, and acted as regent for the young king, and was the commander-in-chief in the operations against Hemú, and afterwards against Sikandar.

§ 3. *Hemú, and the Second Battle of Pánipat.*—In the meantime Hemú boldly marched towards Dehli, and defeated one detachment of Akbar's troops under Tardi Beg. Bairám caused this officer to be executed for his rashness in attacking Hemú, on account of which execution he incurred the hatred of all the Chaghtái nobles, who were generally Súnnís; for Tardi Beg was a Chaghtái Súnní, whilst Bairám (as we have said) was a Turkí Shíah. The latter immediately prepared to attack Hemú; and at length a great battle was fought on November 5, 1556, at Pánipat, between the vanguard of Bairám's army under *Khán Zamán*, and the army of Adil Sháh under Hemú. Hemú was defeated, captured, and slain; and this *Second Battle of Pánipat* completely established the Mughul power; for Sikandar shortly afterwards submitted to Akbar, and was pardoned.

§ 4. *The fall of Bairám.*—The regency of Bairám, owing to his firmness in administration and his great military ability, was remarkably successful; but he carried matters with a high hand as the *atáliq* of the young Emperor, and became very obnoxious to the *Umarás* or grandees. Akbar himself was persuaded to assume the supreme power in his eighteenth year (1560 A.D.) At length Bairám, seeing his power gone, broke out into rebellion; but was soon overcome, and threw himself on the mercy of Akbar, who treated him with the utmost generosity and affection. Bairám now set out to visit Mecca, the Muhammadan way of retiring from public life; but was assassinated in Gujarát.

§ 5. *Akbar's Conquests.*—The fall of Bairám left Akbar

to govern alone. He proceeded to consolidate his power in India with the most wonderful courage, prudence, and ability; and before his death was absolute master of all Hindústán (including Kashmír and Kandahár) and part of the Dakhin, and was one of the most powerful and famous monarchs of that age.

He first had to contend with a rebellion of his own nobles, Khán Zamán, the victor of Pánipat, being the chief rebel. When this rebellion was put down, he subdued in succession the Rájpúts of Chitor or Maíwár, Gujarát, Bihár, Bengal, Orissa, Kashmír, Sindh, Kandahár; also Ahmadnagar, Khándesh, and part of Barár. Akbar's invariable policy was to deal mercifully and even generously with the conquered, generally making any conquered prince a grandee (or *Umará*) of his court and an officer of his army; and in this way he obtained the gratitude and affection of a large number of Indian princes, especially amongst the Rájpúts of Jaipur and Jódhpur. It would be tedious if we attempted to narrate the history of all these extensive conquests; it will be sufficient if we give a brief account of (1) Akbar's dealings with the Rájpúts, (2) his conquest of Bengal, and (3) his wars with *Chánd Bibí*, the famous queen of Ahmadnagar, in the Dakhin.

§ 6. *Akbar's dealings with the Rájpúts.*—The Rájá of Jaipur (Amber) was Bihári Mall. Akbar eventually married his daughter; and Salim (*Jahángír*), his eldest son, was married to another princess of the same family. This Rájá was the first who formed such an alliance. Rájá Bihári's son, Rájá Bhagaván Dás, Akbar's brother-in-law, was one of the most distinguished courtiers in this reign; and was appointed Amír-ul-Umará, and governor of the Panjáb. Bhagaván's son, Rájá Mán Singh, was one of Akbar's best generals; and as a commander of seven thousand, was of higher rank than any Muhammadan officer. He did good service in the Panjáb and Kábul; and, as governor of Bengal, settled the affairs of that province, and put down the Afghán rebellions.

The Ráná of Chitor (afterwards of Udaipur) was Udai Singh, son of Ráná Sangá. Here there was an obstinate and bloody war, and Akbar was victorious. In 1580 Ráná Partáb (son of Udai Singh) regained a part of his dominions and founded Udaipur.

The Ráná of Jodhpur or Marwár was Máldeo. Akbar married his heir Jahángír to the grand-daughter of Máldeo, called Jodh Bái. Jahángír's mother was also a Rájpút princess; and the Muhammadan historian expresses a hope about her, 'that God will receive her in his mercy; for Jahángír's mother, though a Hindú, could hardly be sent to hell.' The Ránás of Udaipur alone refused all such imperial alliances, and despised the other Rájpút families for permitting them.

§ 7. *The Conquest of Bengal.*—After Gujarát had submitted, Akbar's next conquest was that of Bihár, Bengal, and Orissa. Munim Khán, the successor of Bairám Khán as Khán-Khánán, and Akbar's governor of Jaunpur, had extorted promises of submission from Sulaimán Kararáni, the Afghán chief of Bengal; but Dáúd Khán, the son of Sulaimán, had asserted his independence. Akbar himself marched against him in 1574, and took from him Hájípur and Patna; leaving Munim Khán as governor of Bihár, with orders to follow Dáúd into Bengal. Rájá Todar Mall, the celebrated finance minister, was the life and soul of this expedition; Dáúd was reduced to submission at the battle of *Mughulmári*, near *Jaleswara* (Jellasor) in Orissa, and was allowed to retain possession of Katak (*Cuttack*).

Shortly afterwards, Dáúd again rebelled, and overran Bengal. Khán Jahán had succeeded Munim Khán (who had died of the effects of the climate of Gaur); and he, with Todar Mall as second in command, defeated and slew Dáúd at the battle of Akmahall, in 1576 A.D. Khán Jahán subsequently defeated the remnants of Dáúd's followers at Satganw, near Húgli; and gradually conquered the whole of Bengal, before his death in 1578 A.D.

Not long after his death, however, a more serious insurrection than ever broke out amongst the great Mughul *Jágírdárs* of Bengal and Bihár, who had been granted lands in the conquered provinces.

[NOTE.—A *jágírdár* is the holder of a *jágír*, *i.e.*, land given (generally as a reward for distinguished conduct) to a person on condition of his performing certain services to the supreme lord. These services were nearly always of a military nature, *i.e.*, the jágírdár was bound to attend his lord in time of need with a specified number of troops; and if the rules were exactly followed, the surplus revenues of the jágír, after paying the stipends of the jágírdár himself and his troops, ought to be paid to the supreme lord. It was the enforcement of this last rule that led to the great military revolt in Bengal of which we are now speaking.]

Before this revolt of the Jágírdárs was entirely put down, the Afgháns had again risen in Orissa and had overrun part of Bengal; and these provinces were only finally conquered and settled during the long and successful governorship of Rájá Mán Singh of Jaipur [*see* § 6], who ruled Bengal for Akbar from 1589 to 1604.

§ 8. *Chánd Bibí of Ahmadnagar.*—In consequence of the dissensions in Ahmadnagar between the Hindú and Abyssinian nobles, Murád (second son of Akbar) and Mírza Khán (son of Bairám Khán) were sent to take possession of the city, 1595 A.D. The city of Ahmadnagar was then in the hands of the celebrated Chánd Bibí, the aunt of the infant Sultán, Bahádúr Nizám Sháh. She made peace with her father-in-law the king of Bijápur, conciliated the Abyssinian nobles, and defended the city with astonishing skill and bravery against Prince Murád, who was now pressing the siege. A breach was made in the wall, and the defenders were on the point of giving up the city, when the Sultána appeared in full armour, veiled, with a drawn sword in her hand; and standing in the breach she renewed the struggle, which ended at night-fall by the withdrawal of the Mughul armies. The dawn beheld the breach thoroughly repaired, and the queen-regent, who had not quitted her post, ready to meet the assailants. But

Murád abandoned the siege, and a peace was concluded. Akbar in 1599 arrived in person at Burhánpur. Daulatábád had been taken, and Prince Dányál (Akbar's third son), with Mírza Khán, was sent on again to besiege Ahmadnagar, Chánd Bibí had been murdered by the opponents of her little nephew the Sultán. The Mughuls now took the city, made a great slaughter of the traitors, and took the young king prisoner.

§ 9. *General remarks on Akbar's character and administration.*—When Akbar was growing old and was sick unto death, there were great discussions as to whether his son Salím (afterwards the Emperor Jahángír) or his grandson Khusrau should succeed him. But the Sultán himself at length solemnly nominated Salím as his successor, in the presence of the Umarás or grandees; and shortly afterwards died, having done his best to inculcate unity and loyalty by his dying words.

Akbar was strongly built and handsome in person, sober and abstemious in his habits. He was fond of hunting and athletic sports, and often walked thirty or forty miles in a day. He was very studious, most methodical in the despatch of business, understood Sanskrit, encouraged every kind of literature, and superintended many important literary undertakings. He was very affectionate both to his family and to his friends; humane, and compassionate.

He founded a new sect of Muhammadanism, which he called the '*Divine Faith*,' and of which he declared himself the head; and because he allowed the disciples of this faith (the 'elect') to prostrate themselves before him in private, though not in public, many orthodox Muhammadans accused him of assuming rights that belong only to God. He was also accused of worshipping the sun; and he certainly had a great leaning to the religious views of the *Parsis*, who see in the sun a manifestation of the Deity. But the peculiar feature of his religion was *universal toleration*.

He desired to treat all his subjects alike, to abolish the distinction of Hindú and Muhammadan, and thus to fuse the discordant elements of his empire into one homogeneous whole. Nearly every conquered king or general, whether Hindú or Musalmán, who showed signs of submission and loyalty, received proofs of Akbar's lenity and favours in the shape either of an appointment at court or of the command of a district. In the seventh year of his reign he abolished the *jiziah* (a poll-tax on all Hindús and other infidels, which had been exacted with great severity under some of the Afghán kings) and all taxes on pilgrims. The jiziah was not reimposed until the time of Aurangzeb.

The famous financial reforms of Akbar, in reducing the expense of the collection of the revenue, in preventing the extortions of the government officers, and in equalising the pressure of taxation, were ably carried out by the great Hindú financier, Rájá TODAR MALL [*see* § 7]. Todar Mall is said to have based his wise fiscal measures mainly on the enactments of Sher Sháh, the first of the Súr dynasty. The empire was divided into eighteen Súbahs, each under a Súbahdár or viceroy. A full account of these súbahs, with a minute description of every department of government, and everything connected with the emperor's establishments, public and private, may be found in the *Ain-i-Akbari* or *Institutes of Akbar*, written by ABUL FAZL. This eminent man, and his brother Faizi (who was also a learned man, a poet, and the first Muhammadan who studied the literature of the Hindús) were Akbar's most intimate friends and counsellors. Abul Fazl rose to the highest military commands, and was prime minister. He was killed at the instigation of Prince Salím in 1603.

Akbar also effected important reforms in the administration of the army; of which the most important was the order that soldiers were henceforward to be paid in cash, not by *jágírs* or assignments of lands.

CHAPTER XIV.

JAHÁNGÍR, SHÁH JAHÁN, AND AURANGZEB.

A.D. 1605—1627—1658—1707.

§ 1. Gradual Conquest of the Dakhin. § 2. The Story of the Empress Núr Jahán. § 3. Sir Thomas Roe. § 4. The Rebellions of Sháh Jahán and Mahábat Khán. § 5. Sháh Jahán as Emperor. § 6. Aurangzeb.

§ 1. *Gradual Conquest of the Dakhin.*—The son, grandson, and great-grandson of Akbar, who occupied successively the imperial throne of Hindústán, were three of the richest and most powerful monarchs that have ever lived in the world; and the last of them, Aurangzeb, though inferior to the great Akbar in personal character, was fully his equal in general ability, in resolution, and energy, whilst he reigned with absolute sway over a much larger empire.

During the course of these three long and prosperous reigns the Mughuls were gradually conquering the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Dakhin [*see* Chap. XI.] Under Aurangzeb they completed those conquests, and they first came into contact with the Mahrattas, who afterwards so effectually humbled the Mughul power. We cannot attempt to give the details of the various campaigns in the Dakhin. It may, however, be noted that the power of Ahmadnagar was sustained, during nearly the whole of Jahángir's reign, by a famous Abyssinian noble of that city, named MALIK AMBAR, who administered the government in the name of the successor of Chánd Bibí; (2) that Ahmadnagar was finally subdued early in the reign of Sháh Jahán (1637); and (3) that Bijápur, and at last Golkondah, were conquered by Aurangzeb in 1687 and 1688, after many arduous campaigns.

§ 2. *The Story of the Empress Núr Jahán.*—Some of the

most interesting incidents of the reign of Jahángír are connected with his marriage with the celebrated *Mihrunnisá Khánum*, the widow of Sher Afkan, which took place in 1611.

She was called after her marriage Núr Mahall (*the light of the palace*); and subsequently obtained the name by which she is most commonly known, Núr Jahán (*the light of the world*). She was of a noble Persian family, which had been reduced to poverty; in consequence of which her father emigrated to India. On the way, at Kandahár, Núr Jahán was born. To such poverty were they reduced, that the infant, who was afterwards to become the mighty empress of world-wide renown, was exposed on the high road, where a merchant saw the child, and compassionately took it for his own. The child's own mother was employed by him as its nurse; and to his kindness her family was indebted for an introduction to the court of Akbar. Here the father, and eldest son soon rose into notice; and the mother had free access to the haram of Akbar, where the young and beautiful girl saw and captivated Jahángír, then Prince Salím. To remove her from the Prince's sight she was, by Akbar's advice, married to Sher Afkan, a young Persian, who was made governor of Burdwán.

When Jahángír became emperor he suggested to Kutb-ud-dín, Viceroy of Bengal, that he should induce Núr Jahán's husband to divorce her. Her husband refused; and in the quarrel that ensued both the Viceroy and Sher Afkan were killed. Núr Jahán was sent to Dehli; but she, looking upon the emperor as the murderer of her husband, rejected his overtures with disdain. After a length of time, however, a reconciliation took place, and Núr Jahán became empress of India. Her name was put on the coinage with the emperor's. Her influence was unbounded. Her father was made prime minister; and her brother, Asaf Khán, was given a very high appointment. They used their power well; and though Jahángír still indulged in nightly drunken debauches, the affairs of

the kingdom were henceforth managed with prudence and humanity.

§ 3. *Sir Thomas Roe.*—The year 1615 was marked by the arrival of a grand embassy from James I., King of England, to the Emperor Jahángír. Sir Thomas Roe was the ambassador, and he was received with great honour, being assigned the highest place at court at all public ceremonies. By his influence the English trade with India was encouraged. We shall see in a future chapter that the Portuguese had already established themselves in the country; and from this time the European settlements in India rapidly grew in importance.

§ 4. *The Rebellions of Sháh Jahán and Mahábat Khán.*—The intrigues of the Empress Núr Jahán to ensure the succession of Prince Shahryár, Jahángír's youngest son (who had married the daughter she had borne to Sher Afkan, her first husband), drove Sháh Jahán (the third son of the Emperor) into rebellion. Sháh Jahán had greatly distinguished himself in many wars, and he now succeeded in making himself supreme in Bengal for two years. He subsequently submitted to his father.

Mahábat Khán, a famous general, had been brought to Dehli from his government of Kábul, by Núr Jahán, who hoped that he would aid her in carrying out her wishes in opposition to Sháh Jahán. He did so at first, and the reputation which he won in the campaigns in the Dakhin made him the most eminent man in the empire, except perhaps the queen's own brother, Asaf Khan. But he became a friend and partisan of Prince Parwíz, whom Núr Jahán hated as much as Sháh Jahán, and thus he incurred the bitter hostility of the queen.

Mahábat was summoned to join the emperor, as the latter was marching with his army towards Kábul. He came, attended by 5,000 Rájpút horsemen devoted to his service; but on his arrival was told that he could not see the emperor. Seeing that his disgrace was resolved on, he determined to avert it by a stroke of unparalleled

audacity. He waited until the emperor's troops had crossed the Jhelam, and when Jahángír himself was about to follow he suddenly secured the passage of the river with a part of his Rájpúts, whilst with the rest he seized the emperor's person. Núr Jahán strove in vain to liberate her husband, and at length resolved to share his captivity. She narrowly escaped being put to death by the victor. Mahábat was now supreme, and retained his power for nearly a year. Núr Jahán at length succeeded in effecting the escape of the emperor, and Mahábat was compelled to fly to the south, where he joined Sháh Jahán.

Sháh Jahán soon after this succeeded his father as emperor, and he ordered Núr Jahán to lead a strictly secluded life, but generously allowed her a magnificent income. This generosity, however, was marred by the fact that he slew his brother Shahryár and every male of the race of Bábar.

§ 5. *Sháh Jahán as Emperor.*—A formidable rebellion of the Súbahdár (governor of the *Súbah* or province) of the Dakhin, who was called Khán Jahán Lódí, was suppressed in 1630. A large part of Sháh Jahán's reign was occupied by incessant wars in the Dakhin, conducted at first by himself and his generals, and latterly by his sons, especially the great Aurangzeb, who was the third son.

Sháh Jahán will always be famous for the splendour of his buildings and other public works, and for the magnificence of his court, with the glorious 'peacock throne,' covered over with precious gems, and worth six and a half crores. He built the *Táj Mahall* at Agra, as the mausoleum of his queen, Mumtáz Mahall; it is made of pure white marble, decorated with mosaic-work of many-coloured precious stones, and is in solemn grandeur unsurpassed by any building in the world. Besides the peacock throne Sháh Jahán left vast treasures, including no less than twenty-four crores of rupees in coin alone.

He was on the whole a good and just ruler. He never remitted his vigilance over the administration; and in this

way, and by a judicious selection of his ministers, he secured the prosperity of his dominions, which enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity during his reign.

§ 6. *Aurangzeb.*—Aurangzeb had two elder brothers, named Dárá and Shujá, and one younger, named Murád. In 1657 the illness of Sháh Jahán became known to the brothers, although Dárá, who was at Agra, endeavoured to conceal it; and they all immediately made preparations to seize the throne. Aurangzeb at last managed, by the most shameful duplicity and unnatural cruelty, to defeat and kill or drive away all his brothers and their families in succession (1658); and he kept his father, old Sháh Jahán, in prison until his death in 1666.

Mír Júmlah was a great general, to whose aid Aurangzeb was much indebted for his success against his brothers; so he was made Governor of Bengal in succession to the Prince Shujá, whom he had driven into Arakán. Shujá and all his family miserably perished in Arakán; and Mír Júmlah, after a great campaign, in which he overran Koch Bihár and Assam, died at Dacca.

Aurangzeb was incessantly at war in the Dakhin, either fighting with the Mahratta Sivaji [*see* Chap. XVI.], or engaged in the conquest of Bijápur and Golkondah, as narrated in § 1. He also had to encounter some serious insurrections of the Rájpúts, towards whom, as towards all his Hindú subjects, he displayed the most furious intolerance and bigotry.

Note.—Amongst other acts of bigotry Aurangzeb revived the *Jiziah*, which had been abolished by Akbar. The *Jiziah* was a poll-tax, levied on every person who was not a Muhammadan. It had been an instrument of great oppression by some of the Pathán Sultáns, and was detested by all Hindús.

In the course of one of these Rájpút rebellions his favourite son, Prince Akbar, joined the rebels, and endeavoured to seize the Mughul throne; but Aurangzeb, though a very old man, successfully met this new danger, and the young Akbar ultimately died as an exile in Persia.

During this reign the English and French settlements (as we shall see in Chap. XVIII.) were rapidly rising into importance.

Under Aurangzeb the Mughul power attained its greatest splendour and its widest extension; by the time of his death it was rapidly falling into decay. Pure and even austere in his private life, and a rigid Muhammadan, he is generally regarded by Musalmán historians as the greatest of the Mughul dynasty; greater even than Akbar. In general ability, in resolution, in energy he was fully Akbar's equal. Like that illustrious monarch, he was just and laborious; but in almost every other respect his character is almost the reverse of that of Akbar. Both were masters of policy; but Aurangzeb always *preferred* a crooked policy, to attain his ends by stratagem or trickery. Akbar was perfectly liberal and tolerant, generous to all men, and specially merciful to a fallen enemy; Aurangzeb was a bigot and a persecutor, suspicious of all men, cruel to the conquered, and ready to avail himself of every mean advantage. His universal mistrust destroyed his own happiness, impaired the success of every undertaking, and undermined the empire. His heir Muazzam once incurred his unjust suspicions, and was imprisoned for six years, from 1687 to 1694. The contrast between the characters of Akbar and Aurangzeb is best exhibited by their treatment of the Hindús, and specially of the Rájpúts. We have seen that Akbar converted the Rájpúts from enemies into the most loyal supporters of his throne, whilst Aurangzeb caused them to detest him. He even made it difficult to carry on the administration of the empire, by ordering that no Hindús should be employed as public servants; and he insisted on exacting the *jiziah* not only in Hindústán, but even in the Dakhin. The consequence of all this was that most of his Hindú subjects were in heart allies of the Mahrattas; and to this cause may be ascribed, mainly, the rapid decay of the empire.

CHAPTER XV.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE MUGHUL EMPIRE.

§ 1. The Successors of Aurangzeb. § 2. The Sikhs. § 3. The Provinces become independent of Dehli. § 4. The Invasion of Nádir Sháh, the Persian. § 5. The Invasions of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, the Afghán. § 6. Sháh Alam II. and the last of the Family of Timúr.

§ 1. *The Successors of Aurangzeb.*—At the death of Aurangzeb there was the usual contest amongst his sons; and finally the eldest, Muazzam, slew his two brothers, and succeeded to the throne with the title of *Bahádúr Sháh*. He reigned six years. He owed his success mainly to a powerful nobleman named Zulfikár Khán; and the same nobleman also secured the succession of the next emperor, *Jahándár Sháh*, who obtained the throne on the death of Bahádúr. Zulfikár was the vazír of the Emperor Jahándár Sháh, and possessed more real power than his master. Jahándár and his vazír had taken care to slaughter all the other sons and relations of Bahádúr on whom they could lay their hands; but *Farrukh Siyar*, a grandson of the Emperor Bahádúr, had succeeded his father in the government of Bengal, and had been able to escape the murdering hands of Jahándár. The latter had hardly reigned twelve months, when Farrukh Siyar induced two powerful nobles to help him with a large body of troops, and he defeated Jahándár in a great battle near Agra, and put him to death, together with the vazír Zulfikár. The two nobles who made Farrukh Siyar emperor were the Sayyid Husain Alí, governor of Bihár, and his brother, Sayyid Abdullah, governor of Allahabad. For several years they possessed all power in the realm. When they found that Farrukh Siyar, after reigning in this way about six years, was inclined to diminish their authority, they assassinated him, and set on the throne three emperors, one after another,

who reigned in quick succession—the two former ones, named Rafí-ud-daraját and Rafí-ud-daulah, dying after short reigns of two or three months each, in the year 1719. The third emperor nominated by the Sayyids was called Raushanakhtar, and he assumed the imperial title of *Muhammad Sháh*. Shortly after his accession the Sayyids were overthrown and slain by a combination of other nobles; the battle which finally destroyed their power was fought at *Sháhpur*, between Dehli and Agra. These Sayyids, Husain Alí and Abdullah, are often called 'the king-makers.'

It will be seen from the above short account that the six Mughul emperors who followed Aurangzeb were all set up in turn by great noblemen, the first two by *Zulfikár Khán*, the last four by the *Sayyids*. Consequently these noblemen were far more powerful than the emperors themselves. All the other great nobles of the empire began to hope in like manner to elevate themselves to royal power; so that before the death of Muhammad Sháh (who reigned from 1719 to 1748 A.D.) all the more distant provinces had assumed independence, and the authority of the emperors became almost nominal. By far the most important power that arose in this way during this period was that of the Mahrattas, who soon became the leading power in India. An account of their origin will be given in the next chapter.

§ 2. *The Sikhs.*—The Sikhs were originally an inoffensive religious sect; but the fierce persecution of Aurangzeb and his successor Bahádúr Sháh changed them into a formidable military confederation. The sect was founded by Nának in the time of Bábar. He went about preaching the worship of one God, in a form of religion resembling Muhammadanism in some points and Hinduism in others; and collected a large number of *Sikhs* or *disciples* (for that is the meaning of the word *Sikh*). In the seventeenth century their tenth *Guru*, or spiritual leader, named *Guru Govind Singh*, who was a man of ambitious and warlike

temper, completed their military organisation. He was slain by a private enemy, and his relatives and followers were visited with every kind of cruelty. Their *Guru* in the time of Bahádúr Sháh, Jahándár, and Farrukh Siyar was called *Banda*. During the reign of Bahádúr Sháh their hatred to the Musalmáns, inflamed by long persecution, broke out into fearful atrocities. The Emperor marched against them, and spent the last five years of his life in a Síkh war. They soon resumed their retaliations on the Muhammadans; but in the reign of Farrukh Siyar, Banda and a large number of his followers were captured, and executed with the most inhuman barbarities. The Sikhs met torture and death with the most heroic courage, disdaining to a man to purchase life by renouncing their faith. They were nearly extirpated by Farrukh Siyar; but before the end of the century they again became a great power [*see* the life of Ranjít Singh, Chap. XXV., § 3].

§ 3. *The Provinces become independent of Dehli.*—Besides the MAHRATTAS, the chief provinces that obtained independence about this time were *Rajpútáná, the Dakhin, Oudh, and Bengal.*

Jeswant Singh, Ráná of Jodhpur or Marwár, had been a mighty prince during the reign of Aurangzeb. The insurrection of the Rájpúts against Aurangzeb [*see* Chap. XIV., § 6] had been mainly to avenge the wrongs of Jeswant's children; and the most important provision of the peace was, that *Ajít Singh*, his eldest son, should be restored to the throne of Marwár on the attainment of his majority. Ajít Singh turned out a wise and powerful ruler, and the Emperor Farrukh Siyar was glad to make peace with him by marrying his daughter. From Muhammad Sháh, Ajít Singh obtained the acknowledgment of his independence; and from this time the Rájpúts ceased to have any connection with the Mughul empire.

Nizám-ul-mulk, Súbahdár of the Dakhin under Farrukh Siyar, was the head of the confederacy of nobles which overthrew the Sayyids in the battle of Sháhpur, in 1720

[*see* § 1]. He then made himself vazír of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh, but subsequently returned to his Súbah of the Dakhin, which became from this time independent [*see* Chap. XIX., § 1]. He was the ancestor of the present Nizám of Haidarábád.

The chief confederate of Nizám-ul-mulk in his opposition to the Sayyids was *Saádat Khán*, who had originally been a Persian merchant, and who had risen to be Súbahdár of Oudh. Saádat Khán made himself independent in Oudh, and his descendants were kings of Oudh until that country was annexed to the British Indian Empire in 1856.

Bengal, too, became virtually independent in Muhammad Sháh's time. *Shujá-ud-dín*, the last Súbahdár nominated by the Mughul Emperor, died whilst Nádir Sháh was in Dehli; and his son was set aside by the famous *Alí Virdí Khán*, one of the Umarás of the Court, who possessed much ability and experience. Muhammad Sháh afterwards confirmed him in his usurped dominion, but Alí Verdí was really independent.

§ 4. *The Invasion of Nádir Sháh.*—The ruin of the Mughul empire was hastened by two terrible foreign invasions during the reign of Muhammad Sháh. In the midst of the difficulties caused by the increasing power of the Mahrattas the terrible *Nádir Sháh* of Persia swept down on the hapless Mughul emperor.

This famous warrior, originally a shepherd on the shores of the Caspian Sea, had delivered Persia from the oppression of Afghán invaders, and had usurped the Persian throne. In retaliation for the Afghán invasion he had conquered Herat and Kandahár; and now, on the frivolous pretext that the Mughuls had sheltered some of his Afghán enemies, had advanced on Kábul, and thence to the Indus, which he crossed in November 1738. The emperor had underrated the power of Nádir's force, and there are also suspicions of treachery on the part of the great commanders, Asaf Jáh (the Nizám) and Saádat Khan. Hence the invader met with no resistance till he was within one hun-

dred miles of Dehli. Here, at KARNAL, he met and utterly routed the Indian army; and Muhammad had no resource but to give himself up as a prisoner, and he entered Dehli in the train of the conqueror. At first Nádir behaved with great courtesy towards his captive, and appeared inclined to spare the vanquished people; but enraged by some risings of the inhabitants of Dehlí, in which many Persians were slain, he at length gave orders for an indiscriminate massacre, which lasted for nearly a whole day. Shortly afterwards, laden with an immense booty (which included the celebrated peacock throne of Sháh Jahán) he left Dehli and returned home, having first reinstated Muhammad on the throne, and having sent messengers to the chief Indian potentates (including the Mahrattas) to threaten them with his vengeance if they did not obey the emperor.

§ 5. *The Invasions of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, the Afghán.*—The three successors of Muhammad Sháh as emperors of Dehli were *Ahmad Sháh*, *Alamgír* (called Alamgír II., to distinguish him from Aurangzeb, who was also called Alamgír), and *Sháh Alam* (called Sháh Alam II., to distinguish him from Bahádúr Sháh, who was also called Sháh Alam). What little shadow of the old Mughul power which had belonged to Muhammad Sháh was entirely lost during these reigns, and the successors of Sháh Alam II. were only emperors in name, and were really pensioners of the British Government.

The horrors of the invasion of Nádir Sháh were repeated no less than six times during these reigns by *Ahmad Sháh Abdáli*. He was the chief of the Afghán tribe called Abdáli or Durráni; he had been Nádir's treasurer, and had seized all his money, together with the kingdom of Kandahár, when his master was assassinated in 1747. He immediately marched against Dehli at the head of a strong Afghán army, but in this first invasion he was driven back by the skill and valour of Prince Ahmad (afterwards the Emperor Ahmad Sháh) and the Vazír Kamar-ud-dín, in the great battle of SIRHIND. This defeat of the Afgháns

was the last exploit of the Mughul arms, and imparted some glory to the concluding year of the reign of Muhammad Sháh. But in the following year the Abdálí chief returned to India, and extorted from his namesake, the Emperor Ahmad Sháh, the cession of the Panjáb, which from this time (1748) was severed from the Dehli empire. Ghází-ud-dín, a turbulent man, who was grandson of the old Nizám-ul-mulk [*see* § 3], and vazír of the Emperor Alamgír II., endeavoured to retake the province in 1757; and this provoked the third invasion of Ahmad Sháh Abdálí, who now sacked Dehli, appointed a Rohilla Afghán named *Nazíb-ud-daulah* as vazír, and then returned to Kandahár.

Nazíb-ud-daulah was soon afterwards expelled by Ghází-ud-dín with the aid of the Mahrattas, and the Mahratta Raghoba now invaded the Panjáb. The result of this encroachment of the Mahrattas was the fourth and most terrible invasion of Hindústán by Ahmad Sháh, who again occupied Dehli, and almost destroyed the Mahratta power in the crushing victory of Pánipat (the third battle of Pánipat, described in the account of the Mahratta Peshwás, Chap. XVII., § 5).

§ 6. *Sháh Alam II. and the last of the House of Timúr.*—Whilst the Afghán king was crushing the Mahrattas at Pánipat, Sháh Alam was vainly opposing the English in Bihár [*see* Chap. XXI.] At last he consented to become a pensioner of the British Government, and resided for some years peaceably in Allahábád. Subsequently, however, the Mahrattas persuaded him to join them, in 1771, in driving out Zábitah Khán, the son and successor of the Afghán Nazíb-ud-daulah, from Dehli. They were successful, and from this time until the British conquest in 1803 the Mahrattas were supreme in Dehli. Only for a short interval, in 1788, did the Afghán or Musalmán party regain their hold of the city and of the emperor's person; and the Afghán chief, a wretch named Ghulám Kádir, son of Zábitah Khán and grandson of Nazíb-ud-daulah, on this occasion struck out the eyes of the poor old emperor with his dag-

ger, having previously tortured his sons and grandsons in his presence. The Mahrattas soon came up and delivered the poor blind old man from his inhuman persecutor; but he remained in extreme poverty and neglect until, in 1803, he was rescued from the Mahrattas by the British under Lord Lake, in the course of the *Second Mahratta War*. He was then granted a pension by the English, and the sceptre of Hindústán passed into the hands of the British Government. Retribution fell on Ghulám Kádir; for, falling into the hands of the Mahratta chief Sindia, he was horribly tortured and mutilated, and at length his head was sent to be laid at the feet of the old emperor whom he had treated so cruelly. One of the grandsons of Sháh Alam, who had been tortured by Ghulám Kádir, was that Muhammad Bahádúr who, in 1857, joined the Sepoy mutineers, and permitted, if he did not instigate, similar atrocities in the same place in Dehli, perpetrated on innocent English prisoners; and who paid the penalty of his crimes by dying as a prisoner in a distant land beyond the sea.

CHAPTER XVI.

SIVAJI AND THE RISE OF THE MAHRATTAS.

§ 1. Mahárâshtra and the Mahrattas. § 2. The Rise of Sivaji. § 3. The Murder of Afzal Khán. § 4. Wars with Aurangzeb. § 5. Sivaji's Prosperity. § 6. His Death and Character.

§ 1. *Mahárâshtra and the Mahrattas.*—The country of the Mahrattas, formerly called Mahárâshtra, included all the southern portion of the Bombay Presidency, with the Barárs and large portions of the Central Provinces, of the Central India Agency, and of the dominions of the Nizám of Haidarábád. It was bounded on the north by the Sátpura Mountains and on the west by the sea; and extended eastward beyond Nágpur, in the Central Provinces.

The Mahratta Hindús had in early times long fought against the Musalmán invaders, but they were conquered long before the fall of the Pathán dynasty of Dehli; and from the time of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb part of the Mahratta nation was subject to the Mughul emperor, and the rest to the Muhammadan kings of Ahmadnagar and Bijápur.

§ 2. *The Rise of Sivaji.*—Sivaji, the great founder of Mahratta power, was born at the fort of Saoner in the year 1627 A.D.—the year of the death of Jahángír and accession of Sháh Jahán. He belonged to a respectable family of Rájpút descent, named Bhonslé. His father was Sháhji, who was at first an officer under Malik Ambár, of Ahmadnagar, and afterwards entered the army of the king of Bijápur, and fought for Bijápur against Mahábat Khán and the armies of Sháh Jahán.

A curious story, showing the superstitious character of the Mahratta people of that time, was told of Sháhji. It was said that a goddess appeared to him and predicted that one of his family would become a king, and would restore Hindú customs, protect Bráhmans and kine, and be the first of a line of twenty-seven rulers of the land.

Sivaji was early taught all that it was considered necessary for a Mahratta chieftain to know, but he never could write his name. He was brought up a zealous Hindú, thoroughly versed in the mythological and legendary stories current among his countrymen. His hatred of Muhammadans prepared him for that life of intense hostility to Aurangzeb which he led. From his boyhood he seems to have planned his after-career; and he was but nineteen years of age when he seized the hill-fort of Tornea, twenty miles S.W. of Púna. He found a large treasure in the ruins near this fort, which he spent in building another, which he called Rájgarh.

His advance was rapid. He obtained possession of Kondaneh (Singhgarh), Supa, and Purandhar. Meanwhile he tried every art to deceive the Bijápur authorities, who

probably thought, they could crush him whenever they pleased. The suspicions of Muhammad Adil Sháh being at length roused by the acts of open violence to which Sivaji proceeded, he sent for Sháhji, built him up in a stone dungeon, leaving only a small aperture, which was to be closed, if in a fixed time Sivaji did not surrender himself. Sivaji now boldly entered into correspondence with Sháh Jahán, who by his artful representations was induced to forgive Sháhji, admit him into the imperial service, and to give Sivaji himself the command of 5,000 horse. By the Emperor's intercession Sháhji's life was saved; but he remained a prisoner for four years.

§ 3. *The Murder of Afzal Khán.*—In 1659 the Bijápur authorities made an attempt to crush Sivaji, which he rendered unsuccessful by an act of treachery celebrated in Mahratta history. He enticed their commander, Afzal Khán, to a conference; and in the customary embrace he struck a *wagnakh* (a steel instrument with three crooked blades, like the claws of a tiger), which he had secreted for the purpose, into the bowels of his unfortunate enemy, and quickly dispatched him with a *bichwa*, or scorpion-shaped dagger. The Bijápur troops, disheartened at the loss of their general, were cut to pieces or made prisoners. The decisive advantage gained by this act of detestable treachery greatly benefited Sivaji's position, and many successful campaigns followed.

§ 4. *Wars with Aurangzeb.*—In 1662 Shaista Khán was the Mughul viceroy of the Dakhin; and Sivaji, at peace with Bijápur, attacked the Mughuls, and ravaged the country to Aurangabad, where the viceroy lived. Shaista Khán marched southward, and took up his abode in Púna, in the very house where Sivaji was brought up. Sivaji now performed one of those exploits which more than anything else make his name famous among his countrymen. With a part of his men at nightfall he slipped unperceived into the city, mingled with a marriage procession, passed through the out-offices of the well-known house, and almost

surprised the Khán in his bedchamber. The Mughul escaped with the loss of two fingers; but his son and attendants were slain. Sivaji made off, and ascended his hill-fort of Singhgarh (twelve miles off) amidst a blaze of torches. If this adventure did nothing else, it inspirited his men, and taught them to despise the Mughuls. His next exploit was the sack of Súrat; the English factory alone escaping, by the determined valour of its defenders. This was particularly offensive to Aurangzeb, as pilgrims to Mecca embarked from Súrat, hence called Bab-ul-Makkah, *the gate of Mecca.* Sivaji, in 1664, assumed the title of Rájá, and began to coin money. He also collected a fleet of eighty-five ships, sailed down the coast, sacked Barcelor, and plundered the adjacent country. He even attacked some vessels conveying pilgrims to Mecca, and thus doubly roused the indignation of Aurangzeb, ever the champion of the Muhammadan faith.

The emperor now sent a formidable army under Mírza Rájá, a gallant officer, to chastise Sivaji. The latter lost one fort after another, and at length was cooped up in his strong castle of Púrandhar, and compelled to come to terms with the emperor. By the agreement of PURANDHAR he surrendered twenty of his forts, retaining twelve as a jágír. His son, Sambaji, was to become a commander of 5,000 horse in the Mughul army. He was also to have certain assignments of revenues, called *chauth* (or *the fourth*), and *sirdeshmukhi* (or 10 per cent.), on some districts of Bijápur. This was the ground for the ill-defined claims of the Mahrattas in aftertimes to plunder and extort tribute from the inhabitants of every province of the empire. Sivaji now joined the imperial army, and so distinguished himself in the invasion of Bijápur that the emperor wrote him a complimentary letter and invited him to Dehli. Sivaji, accordingly, in March 1666, with his son, set out for the Court. Aurangzeb received him haughtily, and Sivaji finding himself slighted, and in fact a prisoner, contrived to escape with Sambaji, and reached Raigarh in December. Thus

did the emperor foolishly lose an opportunity of converting an enemy into a firm friend and vassal. Sivaji now openly, for a time, resumed his old attitude of defiance; but soon, through the intercession of Jeswant Singh, obtained most favourable terms from Aurangzeb, and in fact was left in perfect independence, though doubtless this was done with the intention of crushing him, when an opportunity should present itself.

§ 5. *Sivaji's prosperity.*—In 1674, Sivaji was solemnly enthroned at Raigarh. He was then weighed against gold, and the sum, 16,000 pagodas, given to Bráhmans. From that time he assumed the most high-sounding titles, and maintained more than royal dignity in all his actions.

His kingdom was now both extensive and powerful, and the extraordinary faculty which the Mahrattas always possessed for plundering, made him also a very rich monarch. In 1676 he still further extended his influence and empire by a very successful expedition into the Carnatic. His latter days were much embittered by the bad conduct of his son, Sambaji, who was a youth of violent temper and unrestrained passions, and who actually, at one time, deserted to the camp of the Mughul general because his father had punished him for some outrageous conduct.

§ 6. *His death and character.*—Sivaji died at Raigarh, of fever, brought on by a swelling in his knee-joint, on the 5th April, 1680. He was a daring soldier, a skilful general, and an able statesman. Though the predatory warfare which he carried on necessarily caused dreadful sufferings, he was always anxious to mitigate those sufferings as far as possible. In order to gain his ends he was sometimes guilty, as in the murder of Afzal Khán, of the utmost cruelty and treachery. But he was never wantonly cruel, and it was possibly remorse for his crimes that caused the religious zeal, which he had always affected, to degenerate in his old age into superstition and austerity. This religious zeal, whether real or pretended, had the effect of infusing into

the Mahrattas an intense national enthusiasm, which attached to their cause all those Hindú subjects of Dehli who were discontented with their Muhammadan masters.

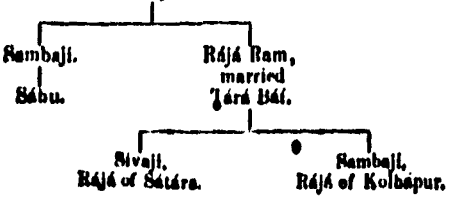
CHAPTER XVII.

THE PROGRESS AND DECLINE OF THE MAHRATTA POWER.

§ 1. Báláji Viswánáth, the First Peshwá. § 2. Báji Ráo, the Second Peshwá. § 3. The Mahratta Confederacy. § 4. Báláji Báji Ráo, the Third Peshwá. § 5. The Third Battle of Pánipat. § 6. Mádu Ráo, Fourth Peshwá. § 7. Náráyana Ráo, Fifth Peshwá. § 8. Mádu Ráo Náráyana, Sixth Peshwá; and the First Mahratta War. § 9. The Battle of Kurdlá. § 10. Báji Ráo II., the last of the Peshwás; and the Second Mahratta War. § 11. The Third Mahratta War. § 12. Causes of the Downfall of the Mahratta Power.

§ 1. *Báláji Viswánáth, the First Peshwá.*—The short reign of *Sambaji*, the son of Sivaji, was entirely taken up with wars against the Portuguese [*see* Chapter XVIII.] and the Mughuls, and he was at length taken prisoner by Aurangzeb, and put to a cruel death. Sivaji's grandson, a boy of six, was at the same time captured, and kept a prisoner for years amongst the Mughuls. He is generally known by the nickname *Sáhu* (शाहू) given him by Aurangzeb, and the result of his education at the Mughul Court was that he became indolent and luxurious. When he was at length liberated

Genealogical Table of Sivaji's Family.



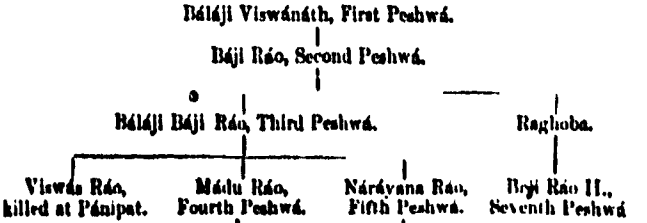
after the death of Aurangzeb, he willingly professed himself a vassal of the Mughul empire, and left all the government of the Mahratta kingdom to his minister, *Báláji Viswánáth*.

Báláji Viswánáth was a wise and able Bráhman, who was taken into Sáhu's service about the year 1712, and made *Peshwá* or minister, an office which his ability soon made paramount even over the kingly one, and which he was able to make hereditary in his family.

In 1718, the dissensions between the Sayyids and Nizám-ul-mulk, which ended in the battle of Sháhpur [*see* Chap. XV., § 1] enabled the Peshwá to interfere in the affairs of Dehli. He marched an army to Dehli to help the Sayyid Husain, and in 1720 obtained from him a treaty granting the Mahrattas the *chauth* or fourth part of the revenues of the Dakhin, the *sirdeshmukhi* [*see* Chap. XVI., § 4], and the *swáráji* (absolute control) of the districts between Púna and Sátára.

§ 2. *Báji Ráo, the Second Peshwá.*—Báláji died shortly after this treaty, and was succeeded by his eldest son, *Báji Ráo*, who was the greatest and ablest of all the Peshwás. Before 1736 he had conquered, from the Mughuls, the whole of Málwah and the territory between the Narbaddah and the Chambal; and in that year he forced the Nizám-ul-mulk, who had marched from the Dakhin to help the emperor, to sign a convention by which all these territories

Genealogical Table of the Mahratta Peshwás.


Báláji Viswánáth, First Peshwá.
Báji Ráo, Second Peshwá.
Báláji Báji Ráo, Third Peshwá.
Raghoba.
Viswás Ráo, killed at Pánipat.
Mádu Ráo, Fourth Peshwá.
Nárávana Ráo, Fifth Peshwá.
Báji Ráo II., Seventh Peshwá
Mádu Ráo Nárávana Sixth Peshwá.

were granted to him, and fifty lakhs of rupees promised as compensation for the expenses of the war.

Báji Ráo was also eminently successful in a great war against the Portuguese settlements on the west coast; and in May 1739 the Mahratta army took Bassein by storm from the Portuguese. The Peshwá after this aspired to conquer the whole Dakhin, and attacked the Nizám's dominions; but he was obliged shortly afterwards to make peace, and he died in 1740.

§ 3. *The Mahratta Confederacy.*—The period of the third Peshwá may be regarded as that of the greatest Mahratta prosperity and power; and yet the confederacy was already showing symptoms of that disunion which ultimately destroyed it—for it was no longer completely under the rule either of the descendants of Sivaji (who, as we have seen, had long ceased to have any real power) or of the Peshwá. The Mahratta power was at this time strictly a confederacy of independent princes, who only obeyed the Peshwá when the latter was able to enforce his orders. Here is a list of the most important of these princes:—

(1) and (2). *Sáhu*, the rightful representative of Sivaji as Rájá of the Mahrattas, reigning as Rájá of *Sátára*; and *Sambaji*, another descendant of Sivaji, who had established himself as Rájá of Kolhápur in opposition to Sáhu. The power of these two princes was never great.

(3). *Sindia*, who established himself in the north-east of Málwah. The descendants of this chieftain have generally been the most powerful of the Mahrattas. They all have borne the name Sindia; and though they were frequently at war with the English in the early times of which we are now speaking and a little later, yet in recent times the Mahárájá Sindia of Gwáliar has been one of the most loyal feudatories of the British Indian empire [*for the meaning of "Feudatory," see Chap. I.*]

(4). Malhár Ráo *Holkár*, who established himself as Rájá of *Indor* in Málwah. The successors of this chieftain have always borne the name of Holkár, and have

often been the rivals of the Sindia dynasty as the leaders of the Mahrattas.

(5). Raghuji *Bhonslé* was Rájá of Barár. The Bhonslé dynasty subsequently extended their power to the Bay of Bengal, by conquering Katak and nearly the whole of Orissa from the Nawáb of Bengal. These eastern territories were taken from them by the English in the Second Mahratta War of 1803 [*see* § 10]; and ultimately the dominions of the last Rájá of Barár were annexed by Lord Dalhousie in 1853.

(6). Damaji *Gaikwár* was Rájá of Baroda in Gujarát; and his descendants, who have always borne the title of Gaikwár, are still reigning in Gujarát as feudatories of the British Indian empire.

Besides all these, there was of course the *Peshwá*, whose court from this time was held at *Púna*, and who was regarded as the head of the whole confederacy.

§ 4. *Bálájì Báji Ráo, the third Peshwá.*—The eldest son of Báji Ráo was *Bálájì Báji Ráo*, and succeeded as third Peshwá; the younger son was called Raghoba. Bálájì Báji Ráo reigned from 1740 to 1761, a period full of important events, of which we can here only speak of the three most important. These were two great wars against the Mughuls under the Nizám of Haidarábád; and the disastrous conflict with Ahmad Sháh Abdálí, the Afghán invader [*see* Chap. XV., § 5].

The first war against the Nizám of Haidarábád, *Salábat Jáng*, was in 1751–52. The Peshwá was defeated at *Rájápur* by the French allies of Salábat, under the celebrated *Bussy* [*see* Chap. XIX., § 2]; but before the end of the year he obtained a large cession of territory from the Nizám.

The second war occurred in 1760. The Peshwá had obtained possession of Ahmadnagar; so the Nizám, Salábat Jáng, marched against him. The result was a complete victory for the Peshwá, at the great battle of Udgír; and the Nizám was now compelled to cede to the Mahrattas all the north-western portions of his dominions.

The conflict with Ahmad Sháh Abdálí must be narrated in the next section.

§ 5. *The Third Battle of Pánipat.*—In 1758 Raghoba, the brother of the Peshwá, foolishly invaded the Panjáb, a part of the dominions taken from the Mughul emperor by the Afghán King Ahmad Sháh Abdálí. A Rohilla chief named Nazíb-ud-daulah, who had been left by Ahmad Sháh Abdálí in Dehli, together with the Muhammadan Nawáb of Oudh, now took up arms against the Mahrattas; and the Abdálí himself immediately made his most terrible invasion of India. The Peshwá was engaged [*see* last section] in conquering the Nizám; so the Afgháns were first opposed only by Holkár and Sindia, whose troops were twice totally defeated and cut up by them.

At last Viswás Ráo, the son of the Peshwá, and Sivadás Ráo Bháo (commonly called 'the Bháo'), cousin of the Peshwá and one of the best Mahratta generals, marched northward to recover the lost reputation of the Mahrattas, and to drive the Afgháns beyond the Attock. Their success at Udgír had unduly elated them. The Mahrattas (and it was a sign of decay), contrary to old custom, took the field with great splendour. All the Mahratta chiefs were ordered to join them. The total number of Mahratta troops assembled was 55,000 horse, 15,000 foot, and about 200,000 Pindáris and followers. They had also 200 pieces of cannon. The Muhammadans had 46,800 horse, 38,000 foot, and 70 pieces of cannon. From October 28 to January 6, 1761, continual skirmishes took place; but the Abdálí steadily refused a general engagement. The improvident Mahrattas were without provisions or money, and were in fact closely besieged.

Shujá-ud-daulah of Oudh had been endeavouring to effect an accommodation between the invaders and the Mahrattas; but Ahmad Sháh knew his own strength and the distressed condition of the enemy, and was disinclined to come to terms. At length, on January 7, 1761, Sivadás Ráo wrote a note to Shujá-ud-daulah, saying, 'The

cup is now full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop;' and the whole Mahratta army, prepared to conquer or die, marched out to attack the Afghán camp. From day-break till 2 P.M. the rival cries of 'Har, Har, Madeo' and 'dín, dín,' resounded. The Afgháns were physically stronger; and in this terrible struggle, their powers of endurance at last prevailed against the fierce enthusiasm of the Mahrattas. By 2 P.M. Viswás Ráo was killed. In despair Sivadása Ráo descended from his elephant, mounted his horse, and charged into the thickest of the fight. He was seen no more. Holkár left the field early, not without some imputation of treachery. Thousands perished in the fight, and the remainder were surrounded, taken prisoners, and cruelly beheaded the next morning.

The Peshwá died shortly after he received the news of this fatal battle, by which the Mahratta hopes of supremacy in India were greatly diminished, if not destroyed.

§ 6. *Mádu Ráo, Fourth Peshwá.*—*Mádu Ráo*, the bravest of all the Peshwás, succeeded his father Báláji Báji when he was only seventeen years of age. His uncle *Raghoba*, an ambitious and intriguing man, was his guardian; whilst his tutor and spiritual guide was a Mahratta Bráhman named Rám Sástri. This Bráhman was profoundly learned, and a pattern of integrity and prudence; he reproved all wrong-doers, however high their rank, and awed the most dissolute; he was distinguished by the most extraordinary industry, zeal, and benevolence, and his memory is still revered by the Mahrattas. Mádu Ráo's reign was mainly occupied with wars (in which he was generally successful) against the Nizám of Haidarábád, the Rájá of Barár, and the newly-risen Sultán of Mysore named Haidar Alí [*see* Chap. XX., § 4].

A bright example of a good and virtuous female ruler is afforded by the Queen of the *Indor* (or *Holkár*) branch of the Mahrattas, who was called *Ahalyá Báí*. Old Malhár Ráo Holkár died in 1766, having for forty-two years been

one of the bravest and most indomitable spirits amongst the Mahrattas; and as his only son had died before him, and his only grandson died very soon afterwards, the son's widow succeeded as Maháráni, and remained so until her death in 1795. She was one of the most extraordinary women that ever lived. She adopted, by consent of the Peshwá, an experienced soldier called *Tuka'i Holkár*, who was no relation to the family. He assumed command of the army, and one of his descendants still rules in Indor. Takaji always paid to Ahalyá Bái filial reverence. She ruled, while he was commander-in-chief. She was devout, merciful, and laborious to an extraordinary degree; and raised Indor from a village to a wealthy city. She was well educated, and possessed of a remarkably acute mind. She became a widow when she was twenty years old, and her son died a raving maniac, soon after. These things affected her whole life. In one thing she far excelled even the renowned English Queen Elizabeth: she was insensible to flattery. While living, she was 'one of the purest and most exemplary rulers that ever lived;' and she is now worshipped in Málwah as an incarnation of the deity.

§ 7. *Náráyana Ráo, Fifth Peshwá.*—Mádu Ráo, dying at an early age in 1772, was succeeded by his younger brother named *Náráyana Ráo*; but this unfortunate youth was assassinated by some conspirators who were incited to do the wicked deed by Ananda Bái, the wicked wife of Raghoba, the Peshwá's uncle and guardian. Meanwhile the Mahratta arms had once more overrun Hindústán, occupied Dehli, and got the Emperor Sháh Alam II. completely into their power. One of the chief ministers of the Peshwá's Court at this time was the famous *Náná Farnavís*, a clever statesman.

After the murder of Náráyana Ráo, Raghoba declared himself sixth Peshwá; but his hopes were frustrated by the birth of a posthumous son* of Náráyana, and by the

* A *posthumous* son is one born after the death of his father.

combination against him of Náná Farnavís and all the other great Mahratta leaders, 1774.

§ 8. *Mádu Ráo Nárâyana, sixth Peshwá; and the First Mahratta War.*—Mádu Ráo Nárâyana was the posthumous son of Nárâyana Ráo; but Raghoba professed to think him an impostor, and induced the English to favour his own claims to the dignity of Peshwá. The English Government, which was now under Warren Hastings [*see* Chap. XXII.], at first refused to help Raghoba; but finding that his opponent Náná Farnavís was intriguing with the French, they at length consented to do so, and the fighting that ensued is called the First Mahratta War. This war was undertaken by the English at a time very unfortunate for them; for they were immediately attacked by Haidar Alí, Sultán of Mysore, and by the Nizám, as well as by Sindia and the other Mahrattas.

The most important events of the war were—

(1). The famous march of *Colonel Goddard* and a small body of English troops from Calcutta, right across India, to Súrat, in 1779; after which he drove away the combined forces of Sindia and Holkár, and subsequently took the town of *Bassein* by storm.

(2). The disgraceful *Convention of Wargám*, a treaty by which a small Bombay army purchased its escape from the Mahratta forces by which it was surrounded, 1779.

The First Mahratta War was concluded by the *Treaty of Salbái*, of which the chief stipulations were, that the French and other Europeans (except the Portuguese) should be excluded from the Mahratta dominions, and that Haidar Alí should be compelled to give up some territory he had conquered from the English, whilst the English agreed to acknowledge the infant Mádu Nárâyana as Peshwá, on condition that Raghoba should be given a pension by the Mahrattas and allowed to live where he pleased, 1782.

§ 9. *The Battle of Kurdlá.*—The chief incidents of the long minority of Mádu Ráo Nárâyana were connected with

the great increase of the power of *Mahádaji Sindia*, who was supreme at Dehli, and gradually became the most powerful of the Mahratta princes, and quite independent of the Peshwá. After his death in 1794, *Náná Farnavís* (the minister of the Peshwá) was the chief ruler of the Mahrattas, and he soon began to quarrel with the Nizám of Haidarábád, because the latter had not regularly paid up the tribute which had been agreed upon after the battle of Udgír.

War was begun in December 1794. Under the Peshwá's banner, *for the last time*, came all the great Mahratta chiefs.

At Kurdlá (March 1795) a victory was obtained by the Mahrattas, more the result of a panic among the Mughuls than of Mahratta bravery. But Nizám Alí was obliged to treat. An obnoxious minister, Maásir-ul-mulk, who had resisted the Mahratta claims, was surrendered. The young Peshwá was seen to look sad; and when asked the cause by the Náná, he replied, 'I grieve to see such a degeneracy as there must be, on both sides, when the Mughuls can so disgracefully submit to, and our troops can vaunt so much, a victory obtained without an effort.' The young Peshwá was just twenty-one years of age.

Shortly after this fortunate battle he committed suicide, 1795, in a fit of ill-temper, because he was not allowed to see his cousin Báji Ráo, the son of Raghoba, with whom he had contracted a great friendship.

§ 10. *Báji Ráo II., the last of the Peshwás, and the Second Mahratta War.—Báji Ráo* became Peshwá after many intrigues. Jeswant Ráo Holkár, son of Takaji Holkár [*see* § 6], succeeded in the same year to the throne of Indor, and after long wars against Daulat Ráo Sindia and the Peshwá, at last pressed the latter so hard that he was obliged to fly to the English for help. In 1802, Báji Ráo signed the celebrated *Treaty of Bassein*, which was the commencement of the Second Mahratta War, by which he agreed (1) to receive an English force quartered in his dominions for their

protection, and to pay twenty-six lakhs for its maintenance annually; (2), to receive no European of any hostile nation into his dominions; (3), to give up all claims to Súrat, and to leave his disputes with the Nizám and the Gaikwár to British mediation; (4), to remain the faithful ally of England. Full protection to him and to his territories was guaranteed by the British.

On the outbreak of the Second Mahratta War, the great *Lord Wellesley* was Governor-General of India; and under him were two famous generals—his brother, *General Wellesley* (afterwards Duke of Wellington, England's greatest soldier), and *Lord Lake*. Their chief opponents were *Daulat Ráo Sindia* and *Raghuji Bhonslé*, of Barár.

The first great battle fought by General Wellesley was at *Assai*, on the borders of Barár and Khándesh (1803). Both Sindia and Raghuji Bhonslé fled from the field, and the English gained a complete victory, though at the cost of one-third of General Wellesley's army.

Multitudes of towns and fortresses were captured by the English during the course of the war, but we need only mention two great battles, those of *Dehli* and *Láyeárí*, won by Lord Lake. At the battle of Dehli, a French general, named *Bourquin*, was the commander of Sindia's army; he was utterly routed by Lord Lake, who now entered Dehli, and took under his protection the Emperor *Sháh Alam*, who had long been in the power of the Mahrattas (*see* Chap. XV., § 6]. This was in September 1803; in November of the same year, Lord Lake gained a decisive victory at Láswárí over all the remaining Mahratta forces; and before the end of the year, both Sindia and the Rájá of Barár had submitted to the British arms, and had ceded a large part of their territories.

§ 11. *The Third Mahratta War.*—In the following year, 1804, a war broke out with the Mahrattas under *Jeswant Ráo Holkár*, who had taken no part in the former war. In this, as in the former war, a large number of fortresses were captured by the British troops, though they experienced a

check in attempting to storm the great fortress of *Bhartpur* [*see* Chapter XXVII.] The Rájá of Bhartpur, however, was forced to give up Holkár's alliance, and to pay 20 lakhs to the English, and in 1805 Holkár himself was driven away into the Panjáb, when a peace was made. The most famous battle of this war was that of *Díg*, fought in 1804, between the English, under General Fraser and Colonel Monson, and Holkár's troops. The gallant General Fraser was killed, but the English won a complete victory, and captured no less than 87 cannon.

§ 12. *Causes of the downfall of the Mahratta Power.*—All the great Mahratta leaders had now submitted to the British arms; the remainder of their history will be briefly given in the later chapters on the Governors-General of British India. The causes of the downfall of the Mahrattas were many. *First*, excessive aggrandisement of Mahádaji Sindia, making him independent of the Peshwá, and, in fact, a rival to him. *Secondly*, the dissensions consequent on the death of Náráyanrao Ráo, the quarrels and rivalries of Raghoba, Nánà Farnavís, Báji Ráo II., Jeswant Ráo Holkár, and Daulat Ráo Sindia, completely disintegrated the confederation. *Thirdly*, the confederation had within itself elements of disunion and consequent weakness. The Peshwá and his councillors were Bráhmans; Sindia, Holkár, and Raghuji Bhonslé were of lower castes. *Fourthly*, Sháh Alam II. was now in the power of the British. Under the shadow of the new paramount power, the corruption and disorder which favoured the rise of the Mahrattas cannot exist.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA.

§ 1. Discovery of the Sea-route from Europe to India by the Portuguese. § 2. Albuquerque, the great Portuguese Viceroy of India. § 3. Extent of the Portuguese Possessions. § 4. The Dutch in India. § 5. Early English Expeditions to India. § 6. Progress of the English Settlements. § 7. The English in Bengal. § 8. Early French Settlements in India.

§ 1. *Discovery of the Sea-route from Europe to India by the Portuguese.*—The European natjons that have at various times made permanent settlement in India are the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes, the English, and the French. Of these, the Portuguese and the French have played an important part in its history, as well as the English, who ultimately became the paramount power in India. All these settlements were at first made only for purposes of trade, though the Portuguese very soon began to entertain the idea of founding an Indian empire.

During the middle ages, European intercourse with India was mainly carried on by the enterprise of the maritime nations inhabiting the shores of the Mediterranean, and latterly chiefly by the Venetians and Genoese, who traded with the ports of Syria and Egypt, whither Indian produce was brought through Persia or by the Red Sea. But during the fifteenth century the Portuguese became great navigators. In 1498, a great Portuguese mariner, named *Vasco da Gama*, discovered a sea-route to India around the coast of Africa, and this put the whole trade between Europe and the East into the hands of the Portuguese, who retained it for a long time. Vasco da Gama landed in the territories of a petty chief, named the Zamorin of Calicut, a place on the coast between Goa and Cochin, and the Portuguese settlements were at first made on this west coast, though not without opposition from the native Rájás.

§ 2. *Albuquerque, the great Portuguese Viceroy of India.*—At length the Portuguese settlements became numerous, and the King of Portugal thought it best to appoint a *Viceroy of India* to govern these settlements and carry on the wars against the native kings. The second of these Portuguese viceroys was the great *Albuquerque*, who landed in 1508; and who, after having taken *Goa* (which still belongs to the Portuguese) and a great many other places, was in his old age dismissed from his office by the ungrateful King of Portugal, in 1515.

§ 3. *Extent of the Portuguese Possessions.*—The Portuguese empire in the East attained its highest power and its greatest prosperity under Albuquerque, whom his countrymen, though ungrateful to him in his lifetime, have unanimously styled 'the Great.' A few towns and factories were added to it during the seventy years that followed his death, but these additions were unimportant. The student must, however, remember that this empire was almost wholly a *maritime* one. The Portuguese fleets were masters of the Indian Seas, and they possessed many valuable seaports, at which they carried on an extensive trade, and which were guarded by their ships of war. These ports were scattered over an immense extent of coast, from the eastern coasts of Africa and the island of Ormus on the west, to the Malay Peninsula and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago on the east. At the end of the sixteenth century, when their power began to decline, their most important possessions were:—Goa and some minor ports on the west coast of India, Ceylon, and Malacca, in the Malay Peninsula. Besides these they had important settlements in Bengal, of which the chief were Húgli and Chittagong, with Diu, in Gujarát, and many other places of less importance. But they never possessed more than a few miles of territory, even in the neighbourhood of their greatest cities, and their power was usually confined strictly to the limits of their factory or trading settlement.

§ 4. *The Dutch in India.*—Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the enterprising navigators of *Holland*

determined to try to take into their own hands some of the Indian commerce hitherto monopolised by the Portuguese; and during the following fifty years they gradually succeeded in driving the latter out of many of their settlements, and in taking from them the maritime supremacy which they had possessed on the coast of India. *Chinsurah* in Bengal was the capital of the Dutch settlements. But they soon had to meet more powerful rivals than the Portuguese; for the English had already commenced to settle in India.

§ 5. *Early English Expeditions to India.*—The first attempts of the English to reach India, like those of the Dutch, were by the north-east passage through the Arctic Seas, and the corresponding north-west passage along the northern shores of North America; and many expeditions were sent, and many lives and much treasure lost, in these fruitless expeditions.

The first English expedition that sailed for India by the direct route round the Cape of Good Hope started in 1591 under Lancaster and some others; but it degenerated into a piratical cruise, and ended disastrously, all the ships being lost or deserted successively. Notwithstanding this ill success, the British EAST INDIA COMPANY was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. [It may here be noted that a second Company was set on foot in 1698; and the old and the new Companies were amalgamated in 1708.] Its first expedition was in 1601, again under the command of Lancaster, and was eminently successful; and was quickly followed by others.

§ 6. *Progress of the English Settlements.*—Jahángír in 1613 gave permission to the English to establish four factories in the Mughul dominions. The trade of the English was established on a more secure footing by the great embassy of Sir Thomas Roe [*see* Chap. XIV., § 3]; and Súrat was long their chief factory.

In 1638 an English surgeon named Boughton, resident in Súrat, was sent for by the Emperor Sháh Jahán to attend his sick daughter. He succeeded in curing her, and

obtained from the grateful Emperor important commercial privileges. By similar success in his profession, he obtained similar concessions from the Viceroy of Bengal; and in 1656 the English erected a fortress at Húgli. In 1640 they obtained the site of Madras from a brother of Rám Rájá of Bijánagar [*see* Chap. IV., § 18]. It was fortified by order of King Charles I., and called Fort St. George; and in 1653 made the seat of a presidency on the Coromandel coast. Bombay was a part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, Queen of Charles II.; and in 1668 that king made it over to the East India Company, who now removed thither the presidency of the western coast, formerly at Súrat.

As early as 1611 the English had traded with Masulipatam; and in 1624 they obtained permission to build a factory at Pipli near Balasor. In 1656 they built a factory at Húgli. But in 1686, owing mainly to their violence, they were expelled from this place, as well as from Kasimbazár and Patna, and from Súrat and most of their possessions (except Bombay) on the west coast, by orders of Aurangzeb. In 1696 the villages of Chuttanatti, Calçutta, and Govindpur were purchased from their owner by permission of Prince Azim-us-Shan, grandson of Aurangzeb. A fort was ordered to be built, and called Fort William in honour of King William III. The history of Calcutta to 1756 is little else than a record of the efforts of the British merchants to resist the exactions of the Nawáb of Murshidábád. In 1716 a deputation was sent to the Emperor Farrukh Siyar to secure a greater degree of protection from the native powers. They were successful, and Calcutta was thereupon declared a separate presidency. The term *Presidency*, as applied to Súrat (afterwards to Bombay), to Madras, and to Calcutta, originally meant that the chief of each of these factories respectively was supreme also over the subordinate factories in that part of India. In 1742 the Mahrattas attacked Bengal, demanding *Chauth*. It was then the Mahratta ditch was dug around Calcutta, to afford protection against a repetition of the attack.

§ 8. *Early French Settlements in India.*—The first expedition sent to India by the French was in 1604; but subsequently a French East India Company was formed, and in 1674 the French governor, *Martin* (the real founder of French power in India) bought *Pondicherry*, on the south-east coast, from the king of Bíjápur. The Dutch at one time bribed the Mughul generals of the Emperor Aurangzeb to help them to take Pondicherry from the French; but it was afterwards restored, and Martin greatly enlarged and fortified it, and made it a great commercial city. In 1688 the French obtained from the Emperor Aurangzeb the Settlement of *Chandernagar* on the Húgli, above Calcutta; and subsequently they acquired several other possessions.

In 1741 the great French statesman, *Dupleix*, who had been for ten years Governor of Chandernagar, was appointed Governor of Pondicherry and Governor-General of the French possessions in India. He immediately formed the plan of expelling the English from India, and of establishing a French empire here; and an opportunity shortly offered itself of making the attempt, for a war broke out between the English and the French in Europe, which lasted from 1740 to 1748.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE WARS OF THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH IN THE CARNATIC.

§ 1. The commencement of the Struggle. § 2. Temporary Success of Dupleix. § 3. Clive and the Defence of Arcot. § 4. The Battle of Wandewash, and final ruin of the French Cause.

§ 1. *The commencement of the Struggle.*—The struggle between the English and the French in India was mainly carried on in the Carnatic [*see* Chap. I., § 3], and lasted from about 1746 to the final capture of Pondicherry by the English in 1761. It commenced unfavourably for the

English; for the French under *Dupleix* and another great French general called *Labourdonnais* took the town of Madras, which was the chief seat of the English in those parts, in the year 1746.

The old Nizám-ul-mulk, of whom we have already spoken several times [*see* Chap. XV., § 3; and XVII., § 2], though nominally only Mughul Súbahdár of the Dakhin, had long been independent at Haidarábád. The Carnatic had also attained independence under its Nawáb; but the first independent Nawáb, Dost Ali, had been defeated and slain by the Mahrattas, and his son-in-law, Chandá Saheb, imprisoned, and in 1743 an officer of the Nizám, named *Anwar-ud-dín*, had been appointed Nawáb of the Carnatic.

Shortly after the capture of Madras, Anwar-ud-dín demanded that the town should be given up to him by the French, but Dupleix objected; and when the Nawáb sent his son with an army of 10,000 men to enforce this claim, Dupleix ordered one of his best officers, a brave and skilful general, named *Paradis*, to resist them. Paradis had under him only 230 Europeans and 700 sepoys, yet with this small force he utterly routed the Nawáb's army. This battle had very important indirect results; for it proved, both to the European leaders and to the native chiefs, that native Indian troops are little better than useless against Europeans, even when they have immense odds on their side.

Paradis was now made Governor of Madras; but a strong fleet soon arrived to help the English, and they were able, not only to drive the French out of Madras, but also to besiege them in Pondicherry. Then, in 1748, came a short peace, and all things returned to the condition in which they had been before the war.

§ 2. *Temporary Success of Dupleix.*—In 1748, the old Nizám-ul-mulk died, and there was immediately a contest for the throne of Haidarábád between two of his sons, *Muzaffar Jang*, the eldest, and *Násir Jang*, the second son. Muzaffar, on finding himself ousted by his younger brother, went to Sátára to implore the aid of the Mahrattas;

and whilst at Sátára he formed a romantic friendship with *Chandá Saheb*, who was in prison there, and who claimed to be the rightful Nawáb of the Carnatic as son-in-law of Dost Alí. The French took up the cause both of Muzaffar Jang and of Chandá Saheb; and Dupleix ransomed the latter from the Mahrattas, and immediately took the field with the united forces of Muzaffar, of Chandá, and of the French. They defeated and slew Anwar-ud-dín and his eldest son at the great battle of *Ambur*, in which the famous *Bussy* was the general of the French. Muzaffar Jang was now for a short time Súbahdár of the Dakhin, and Chandá Saheb was Nawáb of the Carnatic; but their triumph was not for long. The younger son of Anwar-ud-dín was *Muhammad Alí*, afterwards Nawáb of the Carnatic, and henceforward a prominent actor in this war; and he now implored the aid of the English. There was thus a triple alliance on each side:—the English siding with Násir Jang and Muhammad Alí, against the French, who sided with Muzaffar Jang and Chandá Saheb.

The war was carried on with continual changes of fortune. Násir Jang and Muzaffar Jang having each in turn secured the Súbahdárship of the Dakhin, were each in turn assassinated. At last the French set up *Salábat Jang*, a younger son of the old Nizám-ul-mulk, and therefore brother of both Muzaffar and Násir; and by the aid of the intrepid French commander Bussy, Salábat managed to establish himself at Aurangábád as Súbahdár of the Dakhin, and to set up Chandá Saheb as Nawáb of the Carnatic, 1751 A.D.

In the course of this struggle the French troops had greatly distinguished themselves under Bussy, who had stormed the fortress of Ginji, the strongest place in the Carnatic, within twenty-four hours, 1750 A.D.

The French governor Dupleix and his brave general Bussy were now triumphant. Dupleix set up 'a pillar of victory' on the spot where he had defeated the forces of Násir Jang, and ordered a town to be built there, called

Dupleix-fath-ábád. The cause of the English seemed almost desperate.

§ 3. *Clive, and the Defence of Arcot.*—When the affairs of the English were in this miserable condition, a brave and skilful young Englishman appeared on the scene, whose genius completely retrieved their fortunes.

Clive, the son of a gentleman of small property in Shropshire, was born in 1725, and landed in India as a civilian in 1743. His active and violent disposition made him unfitted for the civil service, which at that time was still chiefly engaged in commercial operations; and consequently, on the breaking out of war with the French, he had obtained a commission in the army as an ensign. He distinguished himself at the first siege of Pondicherry, and at the taking of Devikottah, in 1748; and now his courage and skill rescued the English cause from almost certain ruin. Mr. Saunders was governor of Madras; and Clive went to him, and begged to be allowed to relieve Trichinápalli by carrying the war into the enemy's own country. He determined to seize Arcot itself, the capital of the Nawáb Chandá Saheb; and having effected this with only 200 Europeans, 300 sepoys, and a few light guns, he prepared to defend the fortress against the overwhelming forces sent against him from Chandá Saheb's army that was besieging Trichinápalli, 1751. With his little band of heroes reduced to 320 men and four officers, he made good his position for seven weeks against 10,000 men headed by Rájá Saheb, the son of Chandá Saheb. The people seeing Clive and his men march steadily in a storm of thunder and lightning, said they were fireproof, and fled before him. The hero contemptuously refused Rájá Saheb's bribes, and laughed at his threats. When provisions failed in the besieged town, the sepoys came with a request that they might cook the rice, retaining for themselves only the water it was boiled in, handing over every grain of it to the Europeans, who required, they said, more solid food—such self-denial and heroic zeal had Clive's influence inspired in these men! Morári Ráo, the Mahratta chief

of Gutti, and his 6,000 men, who were not far from Ambur, waiting to see the course of events, joined Clive, saying, 'since the English can so nobly help themselves, we will help them.' Mr. Saunders exerted himself energetically to aid the gallant garrison; and after a desperate assault, in which he lost 400 men, Rájá Saheb raised the siege. The moral effect of this memorable defence was incalculable, in firmly establishing the prestige of the English.

Clive now gained victory after victory; and in March 1752 he demolished the town of Dupleix-fath-ábád and the pillar of Dupleix, as a sign that he had demolished the French power in India.

After many struggles, Chandá Saheb was slain, and the French army with 41 guns surrendered to the English at *Srírangam*, near Trichinápalli, in June 1752; and at length the brave and gallant Dupleix was recalled in disgrace by the ungrateful French Government, in 1754; he died in Paris ten years after, a ruined and broken-hearted man.

§ 4. *The Battle of Wandewash, and final Ruin of the French Cause.*—Although the French general Bussy was still all-powerful at Aurangábád with the Súbahdár Salábat Jang, yet the new French governor made very large concessions to the English, and a peace was patched up; Muhammad Alí, the ally of the English, being acknowledged as Nawáb of the Carnatic. The peace, however, only lasted until 1757, and then commenced the final struggle. Clive had been appointed Governor of Madras, but had been almost immediately called off to Bengal, to exact terrible retribution for the atrocities of the Black Hole. Count LALLY was sent out early in 1757 by the French Government to fight the English in the Carnatic, and was so far successful, that at the end of 1758 he laid siege to Madras, but was subsequently compelled to retreat to Pondicherry.

At length, in 1759, English reinforcements arrived under Colonel Eyre Coote, who was the hero of this campaign. Lally and Bussy, with the whole French army,

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attacked the town of Wandewash (*Wandiwás*), and Coote instantly marched against them to relieve it. In the Battle of WANDEWASH the French were totally routed, the heroic Bussy was taken prisoner, and all hope of establishing a French empire in India was destroyed.

In a very short time all the towns held by the French, or subject to their influence, were successively taken by Coote; and in January 1761 Pondicherry itself surrendered, and Lally was sent as a prisoner of war to Madras. He was subsequently beheaded in Paris in 1766. The French East India Company ceased to exist in 1769.

CHAPTER XX.

CLIVE, AND THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY.

§ 1. The Independent Nawábs of Bengal. § 2. The Massacre of the Black Hole. § 3. The Conquest of Bengal by Clive.

§ 1. *The Independent Nawábs of Bengal.*—Whilst the two most powerful nations of Europe, the English and the French, had been fighting in the Carnatic for the supremacy of the Dakhin, the skill and bravery of the great Clive had in the meantime obtained for the English an ascendency in Bengal which very soon made them the paramount lords of Hindústán. The conquest of Bengal was not, however, thought of by them until a dreadful outrage perpetrated on them by the wicked Nawáb made it necessary to inflict on him a terrible punishment by depriving him of his kingdom. I shall now give some account of how this came about.

I have already noticed that under the weak rule of the twelfth Mughul Emperor, named *Muhammad Sháh*, the great Súbahs or provinces of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa became virtually independent under the powerful Nawáb *Alí Virdí Khán* [*see* Chap. XV., § 3]. A great part of Alí

Virdí's reign was occupied with wars against the Mahrattas, who continually invaded and devastated his dominions; and at last, in order to obtain peace for Bengal, he was obliged to give up to the Mahratta Rájá of Barár nearly the whole of Orissa.

[Note.—The whole of Orissa south of Balasor remained in the hands of the Mahrattas until conquered by the English in the Second Mahratta War in 1803.]

Alí Virdí, though he has been styled usurper, on the whole ruled wisely and well. His subjects, both Hindú and Muhammadan, increased considerably in wealth and prosperity. He exacted large sums from the English merchants who were settled at Calcutta, and was very anxious to prevent their obtaining any political power in the country; but he did his best to protect them, and to encourage their trade, so they gladly paid all his demands.

In 1756, Alí Virdí Khán died, and was succeeded by his grandson Siráj-ud-daulah, a monster of cruelty and lust. He oppressed his Hindú subjects in the most atrocious manner; degrading the noblest families of Bengal by his licentiousness, impoverishing them by his extortions, and terrifying them by his inhuman oppressions.

§ 2. *The Massacre of the Black Hole.*—Amongst many other acts of wickedness, he endeavoured to get possession of all the wealth of the rich Hindú governor of Dacca, who was called Rájballabh; and when Rájballabh's son *Krishna Dás* fled to Calcutta with some of his father's treasures, the Nawáb ordered the English to surrender him. The English governor refused to give up an innocent refugee, and at the same time refused to obey the Nawáb's order to demolish the fortifications of Calcutta; so Siráj-ud-daulah immediately seized and plundered the factory of the East India Company at Kásimbazár, near his capital Murshidábád, and imprisoned all the English officers whom he found there. He then marched on Calcutta, where he found the English altogether unprepared for such an attack. They tried in vain to con-

ciliate him, but he was inexorable; and after a slight check at the Mahratta Ditch, his artillery began to bombard the fragile defences of the English, who were soon driven within the walls of the fort. They now (June 18, 1756) held some hurried and disorderly councils; the women and children were sent on board one of the vessels in the river under the charge of two high officials; and at nightfall the governor lost courage and went off to the ships in the last boat. The ships now weighed anchor and dropped down the river to Fáltah, leaving the unfortunate soldiers and officers of the garrison to their fate.

The latter elected Mr. Holwell as their leader, who the following morning felt himself compelled to negotiate; and in the afternoon the Nawáb's army marched in. The Nawáb summoned Mr. Holwell to his presence, accused him of rebellion and of having concealed the treasures of the English factory, but promised him that no harm should happen to the prisoners. Notwithstanding this, the whole garrison, consisting of 146 men, were crammed into a small dungeon eighteen feet square, with very small apertures for light and air. This miserable dungeon, ever since infamous in history under the name of THE BLACK HOLE, had been used as a place of punishment for single individuals; and the torments now endured by the unhappy prisoners, during a night of the hottest season of the year, were more terrible than anything that has ever been described. They endeavoured by alternate threats and bribes to induce their jailers either to put an end to their tortures by death, or to obtain better quarters from the Nawáb; but the miscreant Siráj was asleep, and the guards were (or pretended to be) afraid to awake him. At first the struggles of the victims for the places near the windows, and for the few skins of water that were handed in to them, were terrific; but the ravings of madness gradually subsided into the moans of exhaustion; and in the morning, only twenty-three wretched figures, almost in the pangs of

death, were extricated from a pestilential mass of dead bodies. It is uncertain whether the Nawáb was really an active accomplice in this wholesale murder; but in his anxiety to discover the treasures which he supposed the English had concealed, he took no pains to prevent it, and he evidently felt no subsequent remorse about it. He was morally responsible for it, and a terrible vengeance was justly inflicted on him.

§ 3. *The Conquest of Bengal by Clive.*—The news of these disasters in Bengal soon arrived in Madras, and filled the settlement with consternation. But Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson were now at Madras. They were soon ready to sail to avenge the massacre in Bengal, with 900 English troops and 1,500 sepoys, all full of enthusiasm for the cause and of confidence in their leaders. Various delays, however, occurred; and they did not arrive in the river Húgli till December 1756. And now commenced in earnest the work of retribution; Budge-budge was soon taken, Calcutta occupied, and the town of Húgli stormed.

The tyrant Nawáb knew something of the wars in the Carnatic, and had a lively dread of the defender of Arcot: hence, after the recapture of Calcutta by Clive on January 2, 1757, he made pressing overtures for peace, offering to reinstate the English in their former position. The honest old Admiral Watson disapproved of any accommodation with the author of the Black Hole massacre, saying that the Nawáb should be 'well thrashed;' but Clive from political motives agreed to sign the treaty, February 9, 1757. Clive now seized the opportunity to humble the French in Bengal. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Nawáb, who aided the French with men and money, he attacked Chandernagar, and with the aid of Admiral Watson and the fleet, he captured the town in May 1757.

Meanwhile, the Hindú subjects of the Nawáb had been goaded to desperation by his frantic excesses; and a powerful conspiracy was set on foot against him, headed by

Rájá Raidurlabh, his treasurer, and Jagat Seth, the richest banker in India—joined by Mírjáfar, the Commander-in-Chief, and many discontented Muhammadans. The English, represented by Mr. Watts, the resident at Murshídábád, entered into the conspiracy with alacrity; and it was felt by Clive, and indeed by all the Council at Calcutta, that Siráj-ud-daulah must be crushed if the English settlement wished for peace and security. The conspirators agreed that Mírjáfar should be set up as Nawáb in the place of the tyrant, and that the English should receive from the gratitude of Mírjáfar ample compensation for all their losses, and rich rewards for their assistance.

Umáchand, a crafty Bengáli, was the agent employed to transact business between the English and the Nawáb; and he was an active helper in the plot. But at the last moment he threatened to turn traitor and disclose all to the Nawáb, unless he were guaranteed a payment of thirty lakhs. (300,000*l.*) Clive and the other conspirators were in despair; and at last they condescended to cheat Umáchand, in order to escape from their present difficulty. Two copies of the treaty between the English and Mírjáfar were made out; one on white paper was the real treaty, in which no mention was made of Umáchand's claim; the other on red paper, a mere fictitious treaty, in which Umáchand was guaranteed all the money he demanded, was shown to the faithless Bengáli. This piece of deception has always been a stain on Clive's character; Admiral Watson (who had already shown himself to be an honest English gentleman in objecting to a temporising policy with the Nawáb) refused to sign the false treaty—so his signature was forged by the others.

Clive now wrote in peremptory terms to the Nawáb, demanding full redress of all grievances, and announcing his approach with an army to enforce his claims; and immediately afterwards set out from Chandernagar, with 650 European infantry, 150 gunners, 2,100 sepoys, a few Portuguese, and 10 guns. The Nawáb's army consisted

of 50,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry, and an immense train of artillery. As Clive approached the Nawáb's encampment near Kásimbazár, Mírjáfar appears to have lost courage; for he ceased to communicate directly with the English, whilst it was known that he had taken solemn oaths to his master that he would be faithful to him. Under these alarming circumstances, Clive called together his officers in a Council of War, to decide whether they should fight against such enormous odds, or should wait for a better opportunity. The majority of thirteen, including Clive himself, voted for the latter course; only seven, at the head of whom was Eyre Coote, voted for immediate fight.

After dismissing the Council, Clive took a solitary walk in an adjoining grove, and after an hour's solemn meditation, he came to the conclusion that Coote was right, and that the attack ought to be made at once. Accordingly, early next morning he crossed the river with his little band and came upon the Nawáb's army about daybreak in the fields and groves of PLASSEY. During the early part of the day the English remained almost entirely on the defensive, contenting themselves with repelling the charges of the enemy's cavalry, and keeping up a desultory cannonade. At length, however, some of the Nawáb's chief officers having fallen, the troops of Mírjáfar (who had hitherto remained undecided) were seen to separate themselves somewhat from the rest of the Nawáb's army; Clive now gave the order for a general charge, and carried all before him. Siráj-ud-daulah mounted a swift camel, and escorted by 2,000 of his best cavalry, fled to Murshidábád. The great battle of Plassey, which virtually transferred the sovereignty of Bengal (and ultimately of India) to the English, was fought on June 23, 1757; the victors only losing 22 killed and 50 wounded.

Mírjáfar, now that the English were successful, openly joined Clive; who did not condescend to notice his vacillation, but saluted him Nawáb of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa. Siráj-ud-daulah fled in disguise from Murshidábád, and the

victors at once occupied that city. The fugitive was soon betrayed by a Hindú, whose ears he had formerly cut off. He was seized and brought before the new Nawáb. Mír-jáfar wished, or pretended to wish, to spare him; but his son Míran caused him to be put to death.

And now came the settlement of the engagements of the treaty. Vast sums were paid to the Company, to the British merchants, and to the Native and Armenian merchants of Calcutta, as indemnity for their losses in the sack of the city. The army and the navy with their leaders, including Clive, Watson, and the members of Council, all shared in the spoil. Umáchand expected, too, to get his thirty lakhs, but he was soon undeceived. He was at first stunned by the blow; but he seems to have recovered, for he was afterwards recommended by Clive as 'a person capable of rendering great services, and therefore not wholly to be discarded.'

CHAPTER XXI.

CLIVE, AND THE GRANT OF THE DÍWÁNÍ OF BENGAL.

§ 1. Clive as Governor of Bengal. § 2. The Nawáb Mírjáfar. § 3. The Nawáb Mír Kasim. § 4. The appointment of the East India Company as Diwán of Bengal by the Mughul Emperor. § 5. Clive's Reforms.

§ 1. *Clive as Governor of Bengal.*—Clive was twice governor of the English settlements in Bengal; the first time for three years, from 1757 to 1760; the second time for eighteen months, from 1765 to 1767. We have seen that on his arrival in 1757 he had found the English affairs in Bengal utterly ruined, and the English merchants and officers driven away; before his departure in 1767, he was undoubtedly the most powerful man in India, and the English were unquestioned masters of Bengal, Bihár,

and Orissa, and formally acknowledged as such by the Mughul Emperor.

§ 2. *The Nawáb Mírjáfar.*—From the time of his accession to the Nawábship of Bengal after the battle of Plassey, Mírjáfar was little more than a tool of Clive, and was Nawáb only in name. As long as Clive remained in India, he retained this position. Clive fought his battles for him. At one time, when Alí Gauhar, now called the Emperor Sháh Alam II. [*see* Chap. XV.], invaded Bihár, Clive sent an English army against him under Colonel Caillaud, who soon defeated him in the first Battle of *Patna*, and drove him and his ally, the Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh, out of the province. Clive ruled Bengal, and Mírjáfar enjoyed his riches and pleasures at Murshídábád.

But when Clive went away to England for five years, the new governor (Mr. Vansittart) and his Council found that the Nawáb was madly extravagant in his expenses, and was unable to pay them all he owed; so they determined to depose him, and to set up his nephew Mír Kasim as Nawáb. This was soon done; and in the next section will be found an account of the rule of Mír Kasim, and of his deposition. After this Mírjáfar was again set up as Nawáb by the Calcutta Council, who made him pay heavily for the favour; and in January 1765 he died, partly of vexation at their enormous and incessant demands. His son was put on the throne, on the payment of more money to the Council; his name was *Názim-ud-daulah*. He was the last of the Mughul Súbahdárs of Bengal; for during his time the Diwáni of the province was given by the Emperor to the English East India Company, who thus became *legally* (as they already were *really*) the lords of Bengal.

§ 3. *Mír Kasim.*—When Mír Kasim was put into the place of his uncle Mírjáfar, he gave the English the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong. This was in 1760.

But the new Nawáb was a clever and vigorous ruler;

and he determined to try to make himself independent of the English masters who had given him his throne. He abandoned Murshidábád as his capital, and went to live at Monghir (or *Munger*), in the hope of being more independent at such a great distance from Calcutta. He proceeded to collect a large army, and to discipline it in the European fashion.

About this time, the Mughul Emperor Sháh Alam II. again attempted a permanent occupation of Bihár, when he was again defeated in the second Battle of *Patna* by Colonel Carnac. After this defeat, the Emperor accompanied his conqueror, Colonel Carnac, to Patna, where Mír Kasim came to pay him homage, and was in consequence formally invested by the Mughul with the Súbahdárship of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa.

At length an open quarrel broke out between Mír Kasim and the English Council in 1763. Mír Kasim appears to have been at first in the right, for the conduct of the Council was unjust and tyrannical. But the Nawáb disgraced himself and his cause by the *Massacre of Patna*; when he was hard-pressed in the fortress of Patna by the advance of the English army, in a fit of rage and madness he ordered all his English prisoners (148 in number) to be killed in cold blood. The English troops soon advanced and took Patna, and Mír Kasim was compelled to flee into Oudh, where he took refuge with the Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh (as the ruler of that country was then called) and Sháh Alam, the Mughul Emperor. These two great princes determined to help Mír Kasim; so the three marched towards Patna, 1764. They were, however, repulsed by the English army, and at last took up a position at Baxar on the Son; and in October 1764 followed the great battle of BAXAR. Major Munro was in command of the English forces. The Nawáb-Vazír was utterly routed with the loss of 160 pieces of cannon.

The consequences of this victory were very important. The Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh, though nominally subject to

Sháh Alam II., had long been the real master of the Mughul Empire. He was now thoroughly humbled; and was subsequently obliged to throw himself on the mercy of the English, who thus succeeded to the real mastery of the central plain of Hindústán. The Emperor himself came into the English camp at this time.

§ 4. *The appointment of the East India Company as Díwán of Bengal by the Mughul Emperor.*—I have already noticed that during the absence of Clive in England, the English Government in Calcutta had become very corrupt, and the Members of Council thought more of enriching themselves than of the good of the country; so the Directors of the East India Company, though they had not before been very grateful to Clive for his great services, were now very anxious that he should go to India again, in order to reform all these evils and abuses; and at length Clive consented to go, and he landed in Calcutta in 1765. His first measure was to enforce the orders of the Directors, prohibiting the acceptance of presents by their servants. He made all sign covenants binding themselves to obey this rule. He then proceeded to the English army at Allahábád, where the Emperor Sháh Alam and Shujá-ud-daulah, the Nawáb of Oudh, were suppliants in the camp of General Carnac. The result of his negotiations was that Oudh was restored to Shujá on condition of his being a faithful ally of England; the districts of Korah and Allahábád were given to the Emperor; and the latter conferred on the English the *Diwání* (*i.e.*, the right of collecting the revenue—really involving the whole sovereignty) of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa, in return for a yearly payment of twenty-six lakhs. Though the English had long virtually possessed all the power thus given to them, the Imperial grant of the *Diwání* was valuable, as constituting them the legal (as well as the actual) sovereigns of the country. This happened on August 12, 1765. The Nawáb of Bengal was soon compelled to retire on a large pension.

§ 5. *Clive's Reforms.*—The remaining months of Clive's

rule were devoted to carrying out the reforms in the administration of government which he had been sent to India to effect. He reduced the gains of the English military officers; and firmly suppressed a combination of about two hundred of them who had agreed to resist his intentions. He also took severe measures to prevent servants of Government from engaging in private trade.

Clive left India for the last time in 1767, a poorer man than he was when he returned to it in 1765. He was received in England with great honour; but his reforms had raised up for him a host of enemies. All whom he had punished, or whose corrupt schemes he had thwarted, leagued against him. The Court of Directors did not support him as it ought to have done; but a resolution was passed, 'that he had rendered meritorious services to his country.' He died in 1774, ten years after Dupleix.

CHAPTER XXII.

WARREN HASTINGS, THE FIRST GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

§ 1. The Abolition of the Double Government in Bengal. § 2. The Rohilla War. § 3. Warren Hastings as Governor-General of India. § 4. Haidar Alí and Tippú, Sultáns of Mysore.

§ 1. *The Abolition of the Double Government in Bengal.*—After the departure of Clive from India, Mr. Verelst became Governor of Bengal; and he was succeeded by Mr. Cartier, who was governor until 1772. During the whole of this time Bengal was under a *double government*—*i.e.*, it was ruled partly by the native officers of the Nawáb and partly by the officers of the English East India Company. This state of affairs produced a great deal of mismanagement and corruption, under which both the people and the revenue suffered, whilst the officers of Government alone gained. At length the East India Company deter-

mined to put an end to the double government; so in 1772 they sent out *Warren Hastings* as Governor of Bengal, with orders to take upon himself all the authority which belonged to the Company as *Diwán* of the province.

Warren Hastings had already distinguished himself in various important posts in the Bengal Civil Service, and had been Member of Council at Madras. Immediately on his arrival in Calcutta as governor, he transferred the seat of government to that city from Murshídábád; he immediately made arrangements for the establishment of new Courts of Civil and Criminal Justice under the authority of the East India Company, and he set to work to draw up a new code of laws.

§ 2. *The Rohilla War.*—The most important event that occurred whilst Hastings was Governor of Bengal, before he became Governor-General of India, in 1774, was the *Rohilla War*. A tribe of Afgháns called Rohillas had conquered and occupied the province on the north-west of Oudh, now called after them Rohilkhand, during the disorders of the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh [*see* Chap. XV., § 3]. In 1771 the Mahrattas had, invaded Rohilkhand; and the Rohillas had offered the Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh, according to his account, a sum of forty lakhs for his protection against them. In 1773 the Mahrattas abandoned Rohilkhand; the Nawáb now claimed the forty lakhs, whilst the Rohillas affirmed that no such promise had been made. The Nawáb appealed to Hastings, who believed his statement, and ultimately sent a small English army into Rohilkhand. The result was that the Rohillas were conquered and their territory given to the Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh; whilst the disputed forty lakhs of rupees were made over to the English Government, together with all the expenses of the war.

§ 3. *Warren Hastings as Governor-General of India.*—About this time the English Parliament in London, hearing of the many disorders and abuses of the English rule in India, passed an Act for better regulating the administra-

tion of that Government. This Act was called the REGULATING ACT; it was passed in 1773, and came into operation in 1774. Amongst other changes made by the Regulating Act, it was ordered that the Governor of Bengal should be Governor-General of all the British possessions in India, and should rule those possessions according to the advice of his Council of four. The Governor-General and the Members of Council: had each one vote in deciding on the questions brought before the Council: in this way each Member of Council was almost as powerful as the Governor-General himself—a state of things destructive of all good government.

Warren Hastings was now Governor-General of India. Of the first four Members of Council, Mr. Barwell had been long in India, and generally supported the measures of Warren Hastings, but the other three were entirely unacquainted with this country, and one of them (Mr. Francis, afterwards Sir Philip Francis) was bitterly hostile to the Governor-General—so that the latter was outvoted in the debates of the Council, and the three new Members carried everything their own way until the death of one of them in 1776.

The people during this interval generally regarded the power and authority of Hastings as extinct, and many accusations were brought against him by persons who wished to please the factious majority in the Council. Of these charges the most serious was brought forward by *Nandakumár*, a man infamous for his treachery and perfidy. Francis and his colleagues, however, took him under their protection, and encouraged him in his charges against the Governor-General. Suddenly Nandakumár was arrested, at the suit of an eminent native merchant, for forgery; he was tried by Sir Elijah Impey in the Supreme Court, was found guilty by a jury, and hanged—hanging was at that time the usual punishment for forgery. This execution created a great sensation, and Hastings has often been accused of having procured it unjustly to screen himself, but there

seems no reason to doubt that Nandakumár was justly condemned to death. Good proof that Hastings was in no way concerned with the conviction and execution is to be found in the fact that the Members of Council might have interfered to refer the matter to England, but they refused to do so.

The Judges of the Supreme Court established in Calcutta, in striving to 'protect natives from oppression and give India the benefits of English law,' committed many great mistakes. They interfered between the zamíndárs and their rayats. Their attorneys stirred up strife everywhere. Hastings interfered to protect the landholders from this vexatious interference, and Parliament was petitioned for a change of system, and meanwhile a remedy was discovered. In the *Sadar Diwáni Adálat*, the Governor-General himself and his Council were appointed to preside. This they could not do, and Hastings offered the appointment of Chief Judge of this Court to Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. This reconciled all parties, and enabled Impey to turn his attention to the subject of the administration of justice according to such forms as might suit the great simplicity of native habits. This, though disallowed by the Court of Directors at the time, is the system now restored by the amalgamation in each presidency of the Supreme Court with the Company's old Court of Appeal.

During the later years of his reign, Warren Hastings was engaged in many and great wars, some account of which will be found in the next section. In order to obtain money for these wars, he adopted some harsh measures, especially towards *Chait Singh*, who was the Rájá of Benares, and the *Begums of Oudh*, and for these and some other measures he was afterwards much blamed by his countrymen in England.

Benares had formerly been under the dominion of the Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh, but in 1775 the factious majority in the English Council, against the wishes of Hastings, forced

the Nawáb to give the territory of Benares to the English. They then gave up the charge of this territory to the Hindú Zamíndar, who was declared a feudatory Rájá under the protection of the English, on condition of his paying an annual tribute of twenty-two and a half lakhs. In 1780 the Governor-General, being urgently in need of more money to carry on the wars against the Mahrattas and the Sultán of Mysore, informed the Rájá Chait Singh that he must pay larger tribute than the twenty-two and a half lakhs, and that he must also provide some soldiers to help the English Government. This the Rájá was very unwilling to do, so Warren Hastings proceeded to Benares, chiefly with the intention of forcing him to obey. Hastings at last was so much annoyed by the ingratitude of the Rájá that he ordered some sepoys to arrest him. Now Rájá Chait Singh was so much respected by the people of Benares, that when they heard of this order they immediately rose in insurrection and massacred the soldiers who had been sent to carry it out, and then they came and surrounded the place where Hastings was. The Rájá escaped from the city. The Governor-General was in extreme danger, as he had hardly any guards with him, yet he did not lose his coolness or presence of mind, and ultimately he was able to reach the fortress of Chanár. Troops were now summoned to him from all quarters; the Rájá's army of 20,000 men was defeated, and the fortress of Bíjgarh, in which he had taken refuge, was taken. The troops, however, seized all Chait Singh's treasures that they found in Bíjgarh, and the Rájá himself escaped to Gwáliár, so Hastings was doubly disappointed. He appointed Chait Singh's nephew to be Rájá of Benares, and then returned to Calcutta.

In the following year he was more successful in getting a large sum of money from the Begums of Oudh. The old Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh had died in 1775, and his widow and mother, the Begums, declared that he had left to them by will all the immense treasures of the State of Oudh. The English Council at Calcutta, against the wishes of Hastings, had forced the young Nawáb to allow the Begums to retain

all this money, and thus the young Nawáb was left with no money, either to pay his army or to discharge his debt to the English Government. In 1781 the Nawáb declared that he was unable to pay this debt, except with the money which the Begums had seized; and charges were brought forward against these ladies of having helped Chait Singh with money and with soldiers. Hastings consequently allowed the Nawáb to extort seventy-six lakhs from the Begums, wherewith to pay his debt to the English. This appears to have been an action of very doubtful justice, though it is impossible to ascertain how far the Begums were originally entitled to all the money which they had seized. However this may be, the conduct of Warren Hastings, both towards the Begums and towards Chait Singh, was severely censured by the Directors of the East India Company in London, so he determined to resign his office as Governor-General. He left India in February 1785. Shortly after he reached England, his enemies determined to bring him to trial for his conduct in India, and a famous orator, named Burke, was especially bitter in his prosecution of Hastings. The case was tried before the House of Lords, the House of Commons being the accusers (such a trial is called an *impeachment*). It began on the 13th February, 1788, and was protracted till the 23rd April, 1795, when he was completely and honourably acquitted. The trial cost him 100,000*l*. Though thus reduced to comparative poverty, he lived peaceably at Daylesford, till his death, in 1819. Once only did he again appear in public, and then he was called to give, in 1813, evidence before the House of Commons regarding Indian affairs. On that occasion the whole assembly stood up to do him honour.

Some important alterations were made by the English Parliament in 1784, in the constitution of the Government of India both in England and in this country. The chief point was that the control of the British Indian empire was confided, in all essential points, to a Minister of the King of England, who was called President of the Board of Control, who had the power of appointing the Governor-

General. The Act of Parliament that made these alterations was called Pitt's India Bill, because it had been devised by Mr. Pitt, the great English Prime Minister. A great rival of Mr. Pitt, named Mr. Fox, had previously endeavoured to persuade the English Parliament to pass another law about the Indian Government, which would have put the English dominions in India directly under the authority of the English Crown, almost as they are at present, but the Parliament refused to sanction this Bill.

§ 4. *Haidar Alí and Tippú, Sultáns of Mysore.*—The pressing want of money which led Hastings to adopt such severe measures against the Rájá of Benares and the Begums of Oudh was mainly caused by the many great wars in which he was involved about this time. These wars were directed against the Mahrattas, the Sultán of Mysore, the French, and the Dutch. The war against the Mahrattas, called the First Mahratta War, has been briefly described in Chap. XVII., § 8, and we there saw that the aid at first offered to *Raghoba* by the English was ineffectual, owing to the many difficulties in which they were involved elsewhere, and especially the war with Mysore.

The State of Mysore in Southern India had risen into importance and power owing to the great abilities of a famous military leader, named HAIDAR ALÍ. This man had been one of the captains of the troops of the Hindú Rájá of Mysore, and in 1761 he had expelled the Rájá and his minister from the kingdom, and had established himself as Sultán. He had already collected a considerable number of troops and much treasure; and not long after he had succeeded in placing himself on the throne, he seized the fortress of Bednor, in which he found an immense hoard of treasure, which aided him in his future wars.

In 1765 the Mahrattas, under Mádu Ráo, the fourth Peshwá, invaded Haidar's dominions, and utterly defeated his army, and he was consequently obliged to cede to them all the territory he had conquered on the northern frontiers, and to pay thirty-two lakhs. In the following year, how-

ever, he recovered some of his lost ground, for he led his army westward into the fertile Malabar country and conquered most of that district. Here he was guilty of the most disgraceful treachery, for though the Zamorin (or petty Rájá) of Calicat came out and submitted to him, he took that city by surprise and sacked it, the Zamorin burning himself in his palace to avoid a worse fate.

The *First Mysore War* broke out between the English Government of Madras and Haidar in 1766, not long before Clive left India for the last time. At first the Mahrattas under Mádu Ráo, and the Haidarábád forces under the Nizám, were in alliance with the English, but they were bribed by Haidar, and ultimately the Nizám's forces joined those of Mysore. *Colonel Smith* was the English general, and he was at one time in considerable danger, as he had only 7,000 men and 16 guns against 70,000 men and 100 guns of Haidar and the Nizám. Ultimately, however, he repulsed them at *Chángama*, and soon afterwards routed them at *Trinomali*, both places being in South Arcot, A.D. 1767. The war was continued with varied fortune for two years longer, and Haidar was at one time so hard pressed that he was obliged to sue for peace. But at last, in 1769, the skilful Mysore chief made a rapid march at the head of a large force of cavalry, so as to avoid the army of Colonel Smith, and appeared within a few miles of the city of Madras. On this the Madras Council immediately made peace with him, on condition that all things should remain as they had been at the beginning of the war. This treaty of Madras concluded the first Mysore War.

In 1769 Haidar was again attacked by Mádu Ráo and the Mahrattas. In the war that followed he was continually defeated and well-nigh ruined, and at last, in 1772 (about the time that Warren Hastings was appointed Governor of Bengal), the unfortunate Sultán of Mysore was compelled to buy off the Mahrattas by giving them all his northern dominions, and by promising to pay them enormous sums. In the following six years, however, he more than re-

covered all he had lost, owing to the death of Mádu Ráo and the dissensions among the Mahrattas [*see* Chap. XVII., § 7].

In 1780 the *Second Mysore War* broke out between the English and Haidar. The Sultán of Mysore had taken advantage of the English being involved in the difficulties of the first Mahratta War, to induce the Mahrattas and the Nizám of Haidarábád to help him in conquering the English dominions in the Carnatic. He invaded the Carnatic in July 1780, with a grand army of 90,000 men, and was at first entirely successful. He took many English forts, and at length succeeded in defeating part of the English army under *Colonel Baillie*, taking as prisoners Baillie himself and about 200 men. The English commander-in-chief was called *Sir Hector Munro*, and he was now forced to retreat to Madras, and to send a request for help to Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, at Calcutta. Hastings immediately sent *Sir Eyre Coote* to Madras by sea with some troops, and this brave and skilful general defeated Haidar in three great battles during the course of the year 1781, at *Porto Novo*, *Pollilor*, and *Solingarh*. But in the following year Sir Eyre Coote was obliged to resign his command owing to ill-health, and the war was carried on throughout the year with varied success, until at length, in December 1782, Haidar died somewhat suddenly. His son Tippú, who now succeeded him as Sultán of Mysore, was distinguished by an implacable hatred of the English. He was a man of a cruel and ferocious temper, like his father, and hardly inferior to him in military skill, whilst he was far superior in general knowledge. He carried on the war against the Madras Government for more than a year longer, and at last, in 1784, when an English army under Colonel *Fullarton* was about to march on his capital, Seringapatám, he concluded a treaty with the Governor of Madras (in opposition to the wishes of the Governor-General), by which it was agreed that both sides should restore the conquests which they had made. This was much to the

disadvantage of the Madras Government, for the English had made many more conquests than Tippú had. The treaty which ended this second Mysore War was called the *Treaty of Mangalore*, 1784. We shall hear of the *third Mysore War* (1790) in the time of Lord Cornwallis, but the final conquest of Mysore was not effected until the reign of the great Marquis Wellesley (1798–1799), in the *fourth Mysore War*.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LORD CORNWALLIS; THE THIRD MYSORE WAR, AND THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF BENGAL. A.D. 1786 TO 1793.

§ 1. Reforms in the Administration. § 2. The Third Mysore War. § 3. The Permanent Settlement of the Revenues of Bengal. § 4. Reforms in the Law Courts. § 5. Sir John Shore, Governor-General.

§ 1. *Reforms in the Administration.*—When Warren Hastings retired from the Governor-Generalship in 1785, there was some delay before any one was appointed to that high office; and in the meantime Sir John Macpherson, Senior Member of Council, acted as Governor-General. At last Lord Cornwallis was appointed, a nobleman of great firmness and energy, and he commenced his reign by some vigorous reforms in the administration of the Government, which had suffered much from corruption and bribery, notwithstanding all the efforts of Clive and Warren Hastings. The officers and public servants of the East India Company had been hitherto allowed only very small salaries, and as their opportunities were great of enriching themselves by taking bribes and in other dishonest ways, they had frequently yielded to the temptation. Lord Cornwallis now ordered that every officer of the Government should receive such a good salary as should leave no shadow of excuse for trading or attempting to acquire money by improper means,

and this benevolent order, combined with great firmness in punishing all evil-doers, soon produced a very beneficial effect.

§ 2. *The Third Mysore War.*—After the treaty of Mangalor and the conclusion of the Second Mysore War in 1784, Tippú Sultán advanced rapidly in power and wealth. During the six years from 1784 to 1790 he had successfully resisted a most formidable attack of the Mahrattas and the Nizám of Haidarábád; he had conquered the districts of Canará, Coorg, and Malabar, often with circumstances of the greatest cruelty and oppression—destroying all Hindú temples and forcing as many of the people as he could to become Muhammadans. At last he attacked the Rájá of Travancor, the territory which lies in the extreme southern corner of India. In his first attack on the wall which the Rájá of Travancor had built to defend his country, Tippú was repulsed with immense loss and with considerable danger to himself; so he determined in his rage to take a terrible revenge, and made large preparations for the conquest of the little State that had dared to defeat him. But the Rájá of Travancor was an ally of the English; and Lord Cornwallis determined to prevent Tippú from carrying out his designs.

The Nizám of Haidarábád had just at this time (1788–89) fulfilled an old promise by ceding to the English the district of Gantúr, south of the Krishna; and he now agreed to help the English against Tippú, being promised that he should receive some of the conquered territory. The Mahrattas of Púna also, under the clever minister named Náná Farnavís [*see* Chap. XVII., § 8], promised help on the same conditions. In 1790 Lord Cornwallis went in person to Madras to conduct the war. In March 1791 he captured Bangalor, the second city in point of size and importance in Tippú's dominions; and two months afterwards he totally defeated Tippú and all his army in the great battle of ARIKERA. After this the capital Seringapatam must itself have been taken, if the Mahrattas had been at hand to help Lord

Cornwallis, as they had promised; but their general *Hari Pant* had been intent only on plunder, and had consequently delayed his march so long that at last Lord Cornwallis was obliged, for want of supplies, to return to Madras. During the rest of the year he busied himself with preparations for the next campaign, and in taking sundry of Tippú's fortresses; and at the very beginning of 1792 he marched once more against Seringapatam. This great fortress was just about to fall, indeed, the outer works had already been taken, when Tippú agreed to the terms imposed by Lord Cornwallis. These were, to cede half his territories, to pay three crores of rupees to the English, as well as thirty lakhs to the Mahrattas, and to give up two of his sons as hostages. Lord Cornwallis faithfully fulfilled his promise of giving a share of the conquered territories to the Nizám and to the Mahrattas, though their soldiers had done nothing in the war, and had even treacherously corresponded with Tippú. The English gained by this successful war the districts of Dindigal, the Baramahall, and Malabar; whilst Coorg was restored to its own Rájá. These final arrangements that concluded the Third Mysore War were perfected in February 1792.

§ 3. *The Permanent Settlement of the Revenues of Bengal.*—Lord Cornwallis gained much credit for the successful prosecution of the war against Tippú; and he was raised to the rank of a Marquis for it, though the East India Company disapproved of the acquisition of new territory. But the chief ground of his fame is the *Permanent Settlement*, which he effected in 1793, of the land revenue of Bengal.

The land had been the principal source of revenue under every dynasty. The collectors of this revenue in Bengal under the Mughul Emperors had, by degrees, converted themselves into zamíndárs, possessing military and judicial authority. Many of these zamíndárs were also the representatives of the old local aristocracy. These persons the British Government did not at first recognise; but in 1786,

the Directors wrote out that all engagements should, as a matter of policy, be made with the zamíndárs. This was to be done for ten years; and the settlement of revenue-payment to be made permanent, if it were found to answer. Lord Cornwallis, by his regulations in 1793, confirmed the zamíndárs in the absolute proprietorship of the soil. They were legally constituted landlords under the British Government; and the cultivators were recognised as their tenants. These last were left too much at the mercy of the zamíndárs, and this was the weak point in the whole settlement. Mr. Shore opposed its being made permanent; Lord Cornwallis, and the authorities in England, decided that it should be permanent.

§ 4. *Reforms in the Law Courts.*—The reform of the Civil and Criminal Courts next occupied his attention. Sir Elijah Impey's rules were developed into a volume of regulations by Sir George Barlow; and the system of Civil Courts and procedure which, with modifications, still exists, was established. The greatest evil of this system was the power it gave to the police of oppressing the people. Natives were excluded from all share in the administration of justice, and from all but the most subordinate offices in the public employ. This was remedied in after-times.

§ 5. *Sir John Shore as Governor-General.*—Sir John Shore, an eminent civilian, was appointed to succeed Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General of India; and he reigned from 1793 to 1798. The period of his rule, however, was not distinguished by many important public events; and as he, like Lord Cornwallis, regarded himself bound by the orders of the Directors of the East India Company not to interfere in any quarrels between native princes, we may properly include his reign in the same chapter with that of Lord Cornwallis. This '*non-intervention policy*' gave great encouragement to the ambition both of Tippú in Mysore and of the Mahrattas. The Mahrattas were em boldened by it to attack the Nizám of Haidarábád, whose power they effectually humbled in the battle of Kurdlá, as

narrated in Chap. XVII., § 9. Throughout this period, Náná Farnavís, the prime minister of the Peshwá, was the most powerful Mahratta statesman.

On one occasion, however, Sir John Shore found himself obliged to interfere with the affairs of a native State. In 1797 the Nawáb-Vazír Asaf-ud-daulah of Oudh died. In vain had he been exhorted to pay some attention to the welfare of his kingdom. He lived and died a child in intellect, and a debased sensualist. A reputed son of the late Nawáb-Vazír Alí succeeded him; but his proved illegitimacy and worthless character led Sir John Shore to displace him, and elevate Saádat Alí, brother of the late Nawáb. Mr. Cherry was the Resident at Benares; and he negotiated the treaty with Saádat Alí, then living at Benares. Soon after, the new Nawáb marched to Lucknow, where Sir John was encamped. The Governor-General was in extreme peril from Vazír Alí's hordes of lawless soldiers; but he, with the utmost calmness and composure, maintained his position, and the new Nawáb was placed on the *masnad*, Vazír Alí being sent to Benares. In 1799 Vazír Alí assassinated Mr. Cherry in Benares, and raised a temporary rebellion, but was defeated and taken prisoner.

Sir John Shore, who was created Lord Teignmouth, sailed for England in March 1798.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY; THE CONQUEST OF MYSORE AND OF THE MAHRATTAS. A.D. 1798–1805.

§ 1. The Subsidiary System. § 2. The Fourth (and last) Mysore War. § 3. Formal Annexation of the Carnatic, and of the North-West Provinces. § 4. The Conquest of the Mahrattas.

§ 1. *The Subsidiary System.*—A few words are here necessary to explain the SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM, which Warren Hastings was the first to introduce in his dealings with

Oudh, and which was the basis of the policy of the Marquis Wellesley in his dealings with native States. When a State consented by treaty to accede to this system, it acknowledged the British Government as the paramount power in India; and in return it received the guarantee of that Government for its safety and integrity. It agreed not to make war or peace without the sanction of the paramount power, and to maintain a contingent of troops as a subsidiary force wherewith to aid the British Government in time of need. Such were usually the main conditions of this policy, modified, of course, according to circumstances. It superseded altogether the policy which had been in vogue under Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, which had been based mainly on the foolish idea of maintaining a *balance of power* amongst the native States, so as to prevent any of them becoming too powerful.

§ 2. *The Fourth (and last) Mysore War.*—At the moment of Lord Wellesley's arrival, the British empire in India was threatened by a combination of a large number of native chiefs, who were encouraged to resist the English arms both by the 'non-intervention' policy of the two preceding Governors-General, and by the aid and money of the French, with whom the English had now been long at war. Tippú Sultán of Mysore, the Nizám of Haidarábád, and Sindia, the most powerful of the Mahratta chiefs, were all under French influence, and had their armies chiefly officered by Frenchmen; whilst Zamán Sháh, the Durráni monarch of Afghánistán and the Panjáb—the grandson of the terrible Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, who had so often overrun Hindústán [*see* Chap. XV., § 5], threatened to invade Northern India as an ally of Tippú Sultán. But Lord Wellesley, by his extraordinary vigour and ability, and by the military skill and bravery of the soldiers under him (especially of his brother, Colonel Wellesley, afterwards the great Duke of Wellington), was ultimately able to dissipate all these dangers.

His first step was to conclude a 'subsidiary treaty'—

i.e., a treaty on the subsidiary principle explained in the preceding section—with the Nizám of Haidarábád; under which the Nizám helped the English in the Mysore War with a considerable force, the command of which was given to Colonel Wellesley. He then proceeded to Madras, to direct the operations against Tippú, who had madly declared himself a 'citizen of the French republic,' and had publicly asked for the help of the great French general Napoleon Buonaparte (who was at this time in Egypt) to expel the English from India. Two armies were ordered to invade the Mysore territories; one under the commander-in-chief, General Harris, was called the army of the Carnatic, and advanced on Tippú from the side of Madras; the other, under General Stuart, consisted of Bombay troops, and advanced on the Malabar side. Tippú was defeated by each of these armies successively—by General Stuart's forces in the battle of *Sedasir*, and by General Harris's forces at *Mallavelli* (1799). At length both the English armies arrived before Seringapatam, Tippú's capital, and the great *Siege of Seringapatam* began.

Tippú seems to have lost all the energies of his mind at this time, and to have been overwhelmed by fear and despair. He consulted soothsayers and Bráhmans, and caused prayers to be offered up both in Muhammadan mosques and in Hindú temples, forgetful of the frightful cruelties which he had inflicted on the Hindús. He sent to propose terms of peace, and then refused to listen to the conditions offered by General Harris. He appears to have lost all generalship and diplomacy, and even common sense. Meanwhile, General Harris was vigorously bombarding the defences of the stupendous fortress, and on May 3, 1799, the breach was reported to be practicable. Before daybreak on the 4th, General Baird, who had for four years been a prisoner in the dungeons of the city, led the troops to the assault. In seven minutes the British flag was planted on the summit of the breach. The two columns, after encountering many obstacles, and gallant

opposition from a small band of Mysore troops, met over the eastern gateway. The city was taken.

The body of the Sultán himself was found in a palanquin under an archway, beneath a heap of slain. It was buried with military honours the next day in a beautiful mausoleum in the Lál Bágh. It was ascertained (and it takes away any lingering feeling of pity for the tyrant) that every European prisoner taken during the siege had been put to death by Tippú.

Lord Wellesley now gave part of the territories of Tippú to the Nizám of Haidarábád, retaining for the English the districts of Canará, Coimbator, and the Wainád. He restored to the throne of the principality of Mysore a little boy who was the legal representative of the ancient Hindú royal family, and left his brother, General Wellesley, to superintend the settlement and administration of the country. The conquest of Mysore made the English power unquestionably supreme in the Dakhin.

§ 3. *Formal Annexation of the Carnatic and of the North-West Provinces.*—In 1801, two years after the fall of Seringapatam, the Nawáb of the Carnatic (son of the old Muhammad Alí—*see* Chap. XIX., § 2—who had died in 1795) formally resigned to the British Government the territories known as the *Carnatic*, in return for a large pension, and this cession enlarged the Presidency of Madras to its present size.

The Governor-General about this time (1801) intervened in the affairs of Oudh, which had been frightfully misgoverned and oppressed by the Nawáb-Vazír Saádat Alí and his Vazír, who moreover had neglected to maintain their army in the efficient and disciplined state promised by the subsidiary treaty. Lord Cornwallis now compelled the Nawáb to remedy this, and to cede certain districts to the British Government for the support of these troops. The districts thus ceded comprised a great part of what are now called the North-West Provinces.

§ 4. *The Conquest of the Mahrattas.*—The Governor-

General had had many disputes with the Directors of the East India Company, who disapproved of his extensive conquests, and also of his liberality in wishing to throw open the trade of India—*i.e.*, to allow any one to carry on trade between England and India that wished to do so, instead of reserving the whole trade for the East India Company. At last, in 1802, Lord Wellesley had almost determined to resign his office, but he was induced to remain as Governor-General a little longer; and this was a most fortunate thing for British India, for just now happened the *Treaty of Bassein* (1802), followed by the *Second Mahratta War* (1803–1804) against Sindia and the Rájá of Barár, and the *Third Mahratta War* (1804–1805) against Holkár and the Rájá of Bhartpur, which finally crushed the power of the Mahrattas and established the British Empire as the Paramount Power throughout India. A short account of these wars and their consequences has already been given in Chap. XIX., §§ 10, 11, 12. This was the time when Orissa was finally taken from the Mahrattas by the English, 1803–1804.

Lord Wellesley left Calcutta in August 1805, after a most glorious and successful administration. He had increased the dominions of the East India Company to more than double their former extent, and had firmly consolidated this gigantic empire.

CHAPTER XXV.

LORD CORNWALLIS AGAIN, SIR GEORGE BARLOW, LORD MINTO.

1805—1813.

§ 1. Peace with the Mahrattas. § 2. The Vellor Mutiny. § 3. The Rise of the Sikh Power in the Panjáb.

§ 1. *Peace with the Mahrattas.*—The warlike Lord Wellesley, who had made so many conquests, was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, who came out to India to be Governor-

General for the second time, but who died within a few months of his arrival. Next Sir George Barlow was appointed Governor-General, and both Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow were determined immediately to make peace with all the enemies against whom Lord Wellesley had been fighting. The consequence of this was, that the Mahratta chief Holkár [*see* Chap. XIX., § 12] obtained peace on very easy terms in November 1805; and what was particularly disgraceful to Sir George Barlow in thus hastily making peace, was the fact that the Mahrattas were now allowed to revenge themselves on the faithful Rájpút allies of the English, for the Governor-General declared that he would no more interfere in any of the quarrels between Native Princes.

§ 2. *The Vellor Mutiny.*—During Sir George Barlow's short reign (1805–1807) occurred also a mutiny at Vellor amongst the Madras sepoys, who had been deluded into the belief that some change which was made by the Government in the shape of their head-dresses was intended to break their caste and turn them into Christians. The mutinous sepoys were at once dispersed or slain, but not until they had killed some European fellow-soldiers, whom they surprised in sleep. After this, Sir George Barlow was deprived of the office of Governor-General, and made Governor of Madras; Lord Minto was appointed Governor-General, and reigned from 1807 to 1813.

§ 3. *The Rise of the Sikh Power in the Panjáb.*—During the reign of Lord Minto, the war between the English and the French, which had been going on for many years in Europe, was continued with great fury, and the British Indian troops took away from the French all the colonies in the East that were held by them or their allies, the Dutch, particularly the rich Dutch Island of Java. About the same time it was feared that the French and the Russians were hoping to disturb the British rule in India, by stirring up the rulers of the Panjáb, of Sindh, of Afghánistán, and of Persia to conspire against the English. Lord Minto, how-

ever, succeeded in persuading the kings of Kábul and of Persia, and the Amírs of Sindh, to make treaties with him, by which they promised to have nothing to do with any other European Powers. He also induced the great *Ranjít Singh*, the leader of the Síkhs in the Panjáb, to make a similar treaty: and it will be well for us here to go back a little, to note the rise of the power of the Síkhs in the Panjáb.

We have seen, in Chap. XV., § 2, that the Síkhs were at first an inoffensive religious sect, and that gradually, in consequence of the cruel way in which they were persecuted by the Muhammadan Emperors of Dehli, they became a military as well as a religious body. They were nearly extirpated by the Emperor Farrukh Siyar (1713-1719), but they soon recovered their numbers and influence in the Panjáb. This province was subjugated by the Persians under Nádir Sháh in 1738, and again several times by the Afghán Chief Ahmad Sháh Abdáli or Durráni, 1747-1759 [*see* Chap. XV., §§ 4, 5]. From the year 1751 it was severed from the Mughul Empire, and was attached more or less closely to the Durráni Empire of Kábul under the successors of Ahmad Sháh.

Ranjít Singh was born on November 2, 1780. He first attracted the attention of Zamán Sháh Durráni [*see* § 62], the grandson of Ahmad Sháh, by recovering some guns for him which had been lost in the Jhelum. By Zamán Sháh he was appointed Governor of Lahore in 1798, when he was only eighteen. From this time Ranjít Singh devoted his great abilities to the improvement of his army and the enlargement of his territories.

In 1809, the Sardárs of the Cis-Satlej States of Pattiála and Jhínd appealed to Lord Minto for protection against the encroachments of Ranjít.

Mr. Metcalfe (afterwards Sir Charles Metcalfe, and subsequently Lord Metcalfe) was sent to Lahore as an envoy, and a treaty was concluded by which Ranjít Singh agreed to respect the rights of the Cis-Satlej States, and to cultivate the friendship of the British Government. Ranjít

Singh was greatly pleased with the demeanour of young Metcalfe (who was only in his twenty-first year), and was so much impressed in favour of the English character, that he could never afterwards be induced to break this treaty.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS:—THE NEPÁL AND PINDÁRI WARS.

A.D. 1813–1823.

§ 1. The Nepál War. § 2. The Pindári War.

§ 1. *The Nepál War.*—The Earl of Moira (afterwards the Marquis of Hastings) was appointed to succeed Lord Minto, and arrived in Calcutta in October 1813. He found the finances embarrassed, and many disputes with Native States pending; for nine years he ruled with resolution and success, and left the Empire in a flourishing condition. He was a distinguished soldier, an experienced statesman, and a man of amiable manners and noble character.

The Ghúrkas, a powerful and warlike tribe, had recently established themselves in Nepál. Gradually extending their conquests, they had thoroughly subjugated the sub-Himálayan valleys, and were now displaying an inclination to encroach on their southern neighbours in Hindústán. The ruler of Nepál had imprisoned the zamíndár of Bhútwál, and had seized his territory: and eighteen British police officers in that district had been murdered. The Governor-General determined to teach the Ghúrkas a severe lesson, and ordered a British army to advance into Nepál in four divisions by different routes, A.D. 1814. Generals Ochterlony and Gillespie were in command of the British troops; but the latter was killed in a gallant but unsuccessful attempt to take the fortress of Kalunga, and the army met with several reverses. Amir Singh was the General of the

Ghúrkas. General Ochterlony at length succeeded in driving him from the heights of Rámgarh, which were exceedingly strong; the Rájá of Biláspur was detached from the Nepál cause, and the province of Kumáon subdued. At last Amír Singh was shut up in the fortress of Maloun; and in May 1815 he was forced to capitulate to General Ochterlony. All the forts between the Jamnah and the Satlej were then given up, and Garhwál evacuated. The Court of Nepál, terrified by these reverses, now made overtures for peace; but the negotiations were broken off, owing to the unwillingness of the Nepálese to cede some districts of the Terai. General Ochterlony resumed military operations in January 1816, and gained some more victories; when at length the Nepál Darbár convinced of their inability to oppose the British, agreed to cede all the conquered provinces, and peace was concluded (1816).

§ 2. *The Pindárí War.*—The *Pindáris* were hordes of lawless plundering robbers that had long followed like jackals the armies of the Mahratta chiefs, especially those of Sindia and Holkár. Assignments of lands had been made to them on the banks of the Narbaddah; and they had for some years been the scourge of Central India. The Governor-General now determined to suppress these enemies of mankind; and at the same time firmly to assert the supremacy of the British power over the Mahratta chiefs themselves, who had been encouraged by the Nepál war to conspire. Báji Ráo, the Peshwá at Púna, was the head of this conspiracy: and Appá Saheb, the Rájá of Barár at Nágpur, was one of the chief conspirators.

Sindia submitted to the British, and his representatives are still Maháráj*á*s of Gwáliar. So did *Amír Khán*, the most prominent leader of the Pindáris; and his descendants are still Nawábs of Tank. Báji Ráo resisted, and even dared to attack and plunder the house of the British Resident at Púna, November 1817; but he was soon put to flight, and after a long series of attempts to withstand the British arms, he was deposed. His dominions were annexed

to the British Empire, except a small tract around Sátára which was given to the Rájá who was the true representative of Sivaji, 1818. Appá Saheb had attacked the English at Págpur shortly after Báji Ráo had failed at Púna; but he was easily defeated and taken prisoner, and ultimately he escaped to the Panjáb, where he lived and died in utter obscurity among the Síkhs.

After the submission of Amír Khán, all the other Pindári leaders were gradually conquered. The last of these was named *Chitu*. He at one time took refuge among the troops of Holkár, who had murdered their Queen-Regent, *Tulsí Báí*, because she was suspected of favouring the English; and had determined to resist the British arms. A great battle was fought at *Mahídpur* (December 1817), in which the Mahrattas and Pindáris of Holkár's army were utterly defeated by the English Generals *Hislop* and *Malcolm*. After this the young chief Malhár Ráo Holkár made a *subsidiary treaty* [*see* Chap. XXIV., § 1] with the English. Chitu, the Pindári leader, fled from place to place, being gradually deserted by his followers; till at length he was devoured by a tiger in the jungles near Asírgarh in Khándesh, 1819.

The whole of the Mahratta country, and indeed the whole of Central India, had been reduced to order and submission during the course of this war. The Marquis of Hastings returned to England in 1823, accompanied by the applause of all.

CHAPTER XXVII.

LORD AMHERST:—THE FIRST BURMAH WAR, AND THE STORMING OF BHARTPUR. A.D. 1823–1828.

§ 1. The First Burmah War. § 2. The Storming of Bhartpur.

§ 1. *The First Burmah War.*—Lord Amherst arrived in India as Governor-General a few months after the depar-

ture of Lord Hastings: and he soon found it necessary to defend the British power in India against the insults with which it was threatened from the ignorance and folly of the King of Burmah. Burmah is a country far away to the east of the Bay of Bengal, beyond Chittagong and the easternmost parts of Bengal; and the Burmese are a people not at all like the Hindús, but somewhat like the Chinese. A great part of Burmah, indeed all except the inland provinces, now belongs to the Indian Empire, and is called British Burmah; and we shall see in this section (and in Chap. XXXII., § 2, about the *Second Burmah War*) under what circumstances British Burmah became subject to the English.

The King of Burmah had been largely extending his conquests in the countries on the north-east shores of the Bay of Bengal (*see* the Map). His armies had overrun the provinces of Arakán and Assam; and his territories were now bounded on the west by the Bengal provinces belonging to the English. Not being fully acquainted with the irresistible power of the British Empire, he thought, at one time during the reign of Lord Hastings, that he might take advantage of the English being engaged in the Pindári war, and with impunity seize some of the Bengal territories. He actually had the audacity to send a letter to Lord Hastings, demanding the cession of some of these territories, on the ground that they had formed part of the old kingdom of Arakán; but Lord Hastings treated the letter as a forgery, and the King of Burmah finding that the English had conquered the Nepálese and their other enemies in India, was afraid to say that he had really sent the letter. In 1823, however, he proceeded to attack Kachár (the Rájá of Kachár being in alliance with the English), and in other ways to show that he had no respect for the English power; so Lord Amherst determined to send an army into the Burmese territories in order to punish the King. Sir Archibald Campbell was the General of this army (1824); and he fought many battles with the troops

of the King of Burmah, and thoroughly conquered them. The greatest and last of these battles was fought at a place called *Pagahn;* in which 2,000 British troops routed a Burmese army of 18,000. At length, when the British army was close to *Amarapura*, which was then the capital of Burmah, and the place where the royal palace was, the King of Burmah submitted, and signed a treaty called the *Treaty of Yendabú*; by this treaty he agreed to give up Arakán and several other rich provinces to the English, as well as a crore of rupees in money; and he promised never again to claim any rights over Assam, Kachár, or Jaintia.

§ 2. *The Storming of Bhartpur.*—In 1826, the fortress of Bhartpur was stormed by the British army under Lord Combermere, who was Commander-in-Chief under Lord Amherst. The only importance attached to this conquest was owing to the fact that many of the enemies of the English rule in India had believed, or pretended to believe, that Bhartpúr was such a strong fortress that even the English could not take it.

In 1827, Lord Amherst went to Dehli, and solemnly informed the King of Dehli (the representative of the old Mughul Emperors, who at this time was in receipt of a pension from the British Government) that the English were now the Paramount Power in India. Up to the period of this declaration, the representative of the Mughul Emperors had been regarded as nominally the Lord Paramount of India, though his power had long before really passed into the hands of the British.

Lord Amherst, one of the least eminent of the rulers of British India, retired in March 1828; and Mr. Butterworth Bayley, one of the distinguished school of statesmen trained under the Marquis Wellesley, acted as Governor-General until the arrival of his successor.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK:—PEACE AND REFORMS.

A.D. 1828—1835.

§ 1. Peaceful Character of this Reign. § 2. Settlement of Mysore and Coorg. § 3. Economical and Social Reforms.

§. 1. *Peaceful Character of this Reign.*—Lord William Bentinck had formerly been Governor of Madras; and he had been recalled in 1807. He was consequently anxious to have a chance of retrieving his reputation, by becoming Governor-General of India; and he fully attained the object of his wishes, for his administration marks an era of peaceful improvement and progress in India. It commenced in July 1828, and lasted until March 1835; and though not remarkable for any great military exploits, was distinguished by a large number of reforms, economical, judicial, and social, of far greater value and importance than any conquest.

§ 2. *Settlement of Mysore and Coorg.*—We must, however, notice the one war that happened during this reign, which was the conquest of the little State of Coorg, adjoining Mysore in Southern India. Its Rájá was a mad tyrant, who slew every member of the royal family, and most cruelly oppressed the people; and as he defied the British Government when called upon to amend, it was resolved to depose him. The war was a nominal one, and only lasted ten days; the Rájá was then sent as a prisoner to Benares, and the British rule was established throughout the province, 1833.

The year before this, in 1832, it had been found necessary to put Mysore also under a British Officer, as the ministers of the Rájá had been guilty of gross misgovernment. The country has subsequently prospered won-

derfully. The Rájá has since died, and the British Government has recognised the succession of his adopted son and heir.

§ 3. *Economical and Social Reforms.*—Many important economical reforms were carried out by Lord William Bentinck in the civil and military administrations. Of these the one that provoked most opposition was the abolition of *double batta*. *Double batta* was an allowance given to the army when on service, in addition to their ordinary pay. The judicial reforms carried out at this time were of considerable importance, especially with reference to the extended employment of native judicial officers in responsible posts.

But the reform for which Lord William Bentinck is most famous was the abolition of *satí* or *suttee*. This horrible custom (the self-immolation of widows on the funeral pile of their deceased husbands) had long been practised in India, though by many scholars it was believed not to be authorised by the Sástras. The Governor-General, aided by Mr. Butterworth Bayley and Sir Charles Metcalfe, his two councillors, at this time (December 1829) enacted that any person aiding or abetting a *satí* should be visited with the terrors of the law. The barbarous superstition is now nearly obsolete in India.

In 1829, the Governor-General appointed Major Sleeman (afterwards Sir William Sleeman) as Commissioner for the suppression of *thuggee*. The *thugs* were bands of wretches, half-robbers and half-fanatics, who were in the habit of decoying away and murdering defenceless travellers, especially in the forests of Central India. They regarded this occupation, not only as a mode of getting money, but also as a part of their religion. Sleeman, however, succeeded in almost entirely suppressing this horrible form of crime.

A great Bengáli reformer rose into eminence about this time. He was called Rámmohan Rái: he was both a learned and a good man, and did his utmost to improve

the condition of his countrymen in every way. At length the King of Dehli (who was much distressed at the humble condition to which he had been reduced by the declaration of Lord Amherst, *see* Chap. XXVII., § 2) induced Rámmohan Rái to proceed to England as his agent, to endeavour to get better terms and a larger penson from the English Government; and the great Bengáli died at Bristol in 1833.

Lord William Bentinck left India in May 1835; and Sir Charles Metcalfe took his place as Acting Governor-General, until the arrival of a successor in March 1836. Under *Metcalfe*, who was supported by the advice of *Macaulay*, all vexatious restrictions on the free action of the Press were removed.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LORD AUCKLAND:—THE AFGHÁN WAR.

§ 1. State of Afghánistán. § 2. The Afghán War.

§ 1. *State of Afghánistán.*—Lord Auckland succeeded as Governor-General in 1836. Afghánistán is a very mountainous country beyond the north-west frontiers of India. It lies next to the Panjáb, from which it is separated by high mountains, crossed by very difficult and dangerous roads called *passes*. Through these roads over the mountains of Afghánistán have come most of the foreign invaders (such as Mahmúd of Ghazní, Muhammad Ghori, Timúr, Bábar, and Nádir Sháh) that have at various times invaded India; indeed, this is almost the only direction from which they can possibly come, unless they come in ships by sea.

On this account, ever since the English have been the Paramount Power in India, the English Government has wished that the country of Afghánistán should be ruled

over by princes friendly to the English power; for then the Afgháns would make it more difficult for any foreign enemy to disturb the peace of India.

Now, until a short time before the time of Lord Auckland, Afghánistán had been under the rule of the Durráni kings, descendants of Ahmad Sháh *Abdáli* or *Durráni* [*see* Chap. XV., § 5]; and in 1809, Lord Minto had made a treaty of friendship with Sháh Shujá, the grandson of that Ahmad Sháh. But lately, during the reign of Lord William Bentinck, Sháh Shujá had been driven out of the country by his brother, Mahmúd; and Mahmúd had in his turn been murdered by the Bárakzai tribe of Afgháns; so that when Lord Auckland came to be Governor-General of India, *Dost Muhammad*, the chief of the Bárakzai Afgháns, was the ruler of most of Afghánistán. Lord Auckland at first tried to conciliate Dost Muhammad; but when he found that that chief was not inclined to be friendly to the English, he determined to help Sháh Shujá (who had all along been friendly, and who was now living as a British pensioner in India) to recover the throne of Afghánistán.

§ 2. *The Afghán War.*—Lord Auckland took up the cause of Sháh Shujá under the mistaken impression that he was really more popular amongst the people of Afghánistán than Dost Muhammad; so the army which he sent to invade Afghánistán was not a very strong one. Ranjit Singh, the old 'Lion of the Panjáb' as he was often called [*see* Chap. XXV., § 3], promised to help Sháh Shujá with the power of the Sikhs; but he died soon after, and the Government of the Sikhs fell into disorder.

The British army of invasion was commanded by Sir John Keane, accompanied by Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Macnaghten. They first marched to Kandahár, which is one of the capitals of Afghánistán, where Sháh Shujá was solemnly put on the throne. Then they went on to *Ghazní*, which they found to be strongly fortified; but they blew up one of the big gates with gunpowder, and then took the

fortress by storm (1839). They then marched to *Kábul*, which is the chief seat of the Afghán Government, and which they entered in August 1839; and now their task of restoring Sháh Shujá was done, for Dost Muhammad had fled away to the wild country north of Afghánistán. Most of the army now returned to India, a portion remaining to settle the country under Sháh Shujá; and at the end of the following year (1840) Dost Muhammad gave himself up as a prisoner to Sir William Macnaghten.

After this, for nearly a year, everything seemed peaceful. But, in December 1841, the whole of Afghánistán rose in insurrection against the small garrison of Indian troops, and at length the latter were so surrounded by innumerable and warlike enemies, that they were obliged to purchase a safe retreat by making the most humiliating promises and concessions. The chief leader of the Afgháns was *Akbar Khán*, a son of Dost Muhammad, and he, with the utmost baseness and treachery, shot Sir William Macnaghten at a conference. The Indian army had not proceeded far in its retreat before the Afgháns broke their solemn promises, and fell upon it. The British soldiers, both Europeans and sepoys, defended themselves as well as they could, and struggled on in the midst of the greatest privations, from the piercing cold of these snowy mountain-passes, from the want of food and clothing, and from the terrible difficulties of the roads. But the mountains that overhung all these passes were crowded with treacherous and ferocious Afgháns, who kept up a murderous fire on the unprotected soldiers below, until at length, with the exception of a few ladies and married officers who surrendered themselves as prisoners to Akbar Khán, and one man who escaped to carry the news to Jalálábád, not a single man of the little army remained alive!

The melancholy disasters of this campaign, in which so many British soldiers and sepoys perished, spread a gloom over British India, which was not removed until the brilliant successes of General Pollock and the conquest of Kábul under the next Governor-General restored the glory

of the English arms. This has thrown a cloud over the reputation of Lord Auckland, which would otherwise have been an honourable one. His abilities were great, and before the commencement of the Afghán war, his good management had placed the finances of the country in a most flourishing condition. He left India in March 1842.

CHAPTER XXX.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH:—THE CONQUEST OF KÁBUL AND THE ANNEXATION OF SINDH.

A.D. 1842—1844.

§ 1. The Conquest of Kábul. § 2. The Conquest of Sindh. § 3. War with Gwáliár.

§ 1. *The Conquest of Kábul.*—Lord Ellenborough succeeded Lord Auckland as Governor-General, and arrived in Calcutta in March 1842. It was now clearly seen that the people of Afghánistán preferred Dost Muhammad to Sháh Shujá as their king; indeed, Sháh Shujá shortly after this was shot by the Afgháns at Kábul, and his body thrown into a ditch. So the British Government determined that the Afgháns should be severely punished for their treachery and hostility to the British army, but that in future they should be allowed to choose what king they liked without any interference from India.

During the whole of the time occupied by the miserable retreat of the British army from Kábul described in the last chapter, and during the whole of the spring of 1842, a gallant little band of heroes, under a brave general, named Sale, had defended themselves in a ricketty Afghán fortress, called *Jalálábád*, against countless hosts of Afgháns, under the murderer Akbar Khán. They had to contend against innumerable difficulties, for after they had slightly repaired the fortifications an earthquake threw them down again.

But the 'Illustrious Garrison, as they have often been called, once more repaired the breaches in the walls, and not only defended the fort, but even sallied forth, routed Akbar Khán and his thousands of Afgháns, and burnt their camp. Another little detachment of British troops held out in like manner at Kandahár, under General Nott, all through the long winter and spring. At length, when the returning warmth of summer had melted the snow in the passes, and rendered it possible for an Indian army to march again into Afghánistán, General *Pollock*, at the head of a number of English soldiers and Indian sepoys, forced his way through the *Khaibar Pass*, which is the name of the very difficult and dangerous road over the mountains between Pesháwar in the Panjáb and Jalálábád in Afghánistán. General Pollock soon rescued the 'Illustrious Garrison' of Jalálábád, and then marched on against Kábul. Another army had been sent from India through the *Bolan Pass* (the road over the mountains into the north of Bilúchistán, just south of Afghánistán) to rescue General Nott and his soldiers, who were in Kandahár, and General Nott being joined by this new army, took Ghazní, and utterly destroyed that fortress, and then marched on to meet General Pollock at Kábul. The great bazar of Kábul was utterly destroyed, as a punishment to the Afgháns for their treachery, and when all resistance throughout the country had been crushed, every important fortress captured, and the English prisoners rescued, it was determined to evacuate the country. The army marched back quietly through the dominions of the Sikhs to Firúzpur in British territory; it had completely restored the glory of the English arms, and vindicated the honour of the English Government. Dost Muhammad and the other Afghán prisoners were set at liberty.

§ 2. *The Conquest of Sindh.*—During the troubles of the Afghán war, the Amírs of Sindh had shown many signs of hostility to the English, so Lord Ellenborough now determined to teach them the folly of such conduct.

NOTE.—Sindh [*see* Chap. I., § 3 (*g*)] had been conquered in 1786 by a fierce tribe of Biluchis from the mountains of Biluchistán on the western frontier. The Amírs of Sindh were the descendants of these Biluchi conquerors, and lived as feudal nobles in fortified castles, often cruelly oppressing the conquered people. They were at all times very jealous of the British power, and tried to prevent any trade being carried on between Sindh and the British Indian dominions.

Sir Charles Napier was sent as Commander-in-Chief to Sindh, with orders to find out clearly whether the Amírs were really inclined to be friendly or hostile to the English. Soon afterwards, however, a large Sindh force attacked the house of Major (afterwards Sir James) Outram, and thus commenced the short Sindh war. Sir Charles Napier utterly routed the Amírs and all their forces in two great battles, first at *Miani* and afterwards at *Haidarábád* (both these towns are in Sindh). It was then decided that Sindh should be annexed to the British dominions, and that the Amírs should be sent to Benares as State prisoners. This extremely severe sentence was believed by many to be very unjust; and it was thought that Lord Ellenborough ought to have restored the Amírs to power after punishing them for their treachery. As far as the poor inhabitants of Sindh were concerned, the change was certainly a most happy one, and the country has since greatly increased in wealth and prosperity.

§ 3. *War with Gwáliár.*—During the Afghán and Sindh wars, the Mahrattas in Gwáliár had been growing turbulent. There was an immense and highly-disciplined army there, and the young Sindia (every Mahárájá of Gwáliár is called Sindia) was only a little boy. A quarrel as to who should be Sindia's guardian and regent of Gwáliár now threatened to plunge Central India into the horrors of a Mahratta civil war, so Lord Ellenborough resolved to interfere, and marched two armies towards Gwáliár, expecting that the Mahrattas would immediately submit. The two divisions of the Gwáliár army, however, confident in their great numbers and their fine artillery, ventured to resist, and two

great battles were fought on the same day, December 29, 1843; one at *Maháráj pur*, and the other at *Panniár*. In both of these battles the English arms were completely triumphant, and all the guns, ammunition, and treasures of the Mahrattas were captured. Ever since that period, the Mahárájá of Gwáliár has been a loyal feudatory of the British Crown.

Lord Ellenborough had had many differences of opinion with the Directors of the East India Company, and in February 1844 he was suddenly recalled.

CHAPTER XXXI.

LORD HARDINGE:—AND THE FIRST SIKH WAR

A.D. 1844—1848.

§ 1. The First Sikh War. § 2. Social Reforms.

§ 1. *The First Sikh War.*—Since the death of Ranjít Singh in 1839, the Panjáb had been in a dreadful state of anarchy and confusion. There had been numerous assassinations amongst the survivors of Ranjít's family and Ministers of State, and many revolutions; and at last Dhúlíp Singh, the son of Ranjít by his favourite wife Chánd Kaur, was set up as Mahárájá. The great Sikh Sardárs or Chiefs formed themselves into a Council of State, and the name of the 'Khálsá' (*the pure*) was given to the whole Government. But in 1845 the disorder was as bad as ever, the Mahárání Chánd Kaur and the other Sikh leaders were all intriguing for supreme power, while the strong and well-disciplined Sikh army was turbulent and anxious for war.

In the meantime, Sir Henry Hardinge (afterwards Viscount Hardinge) had been appointed Governor-General; he landed in India in 1844, and left it in 1847. He had greatly distinguished himself in the wars of Europe against the French, particularly in the Peninsular War,

and in the great battle of Waterloo, where he had lost an arm. The new Governor-General refused to interfere in the affairs of the Panjáb, and was sincerely anxious to maintain peace with the Síkhs; when suddenly the Síkh army of its own accord invaded British territory by crossing the Satlej, which was at that time the boundary between the English and the Síkh dominions, December 1845. It is believed that the Síkh leaders induced their army to do this in order to relieve themselves from the fear of its turbulence.

Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, joined afterwards by the Governor-General, immediately marched against the Síkhs, and though much inferior in numbers, within a fortnight drove them back across the Satlej, after two sanguinary battles at *Mudki* and *Firúzshahr*,* both of which places are near Firúzpur and close to the frontier of the Panjáb. Unfortunately the English army was deficient in ammunition, in guns, and in stores of all kinds, and consequently Sir Hugh Gough was unable fully to follow up the glorious victory of Firúzshahr. And in the meantime the Síkhs again crossed the Satlej in great force and with seventy guns. At length, however, Sir Harry Smith was sent forward with a small body of troops. He met Guláb Singh with a strong force of Síkhs at Baddiwal, but was unable to attack him, whilst the British troops suffered from the Síkh fire. This was regarded by the Síkhs as a victory; so Sir Harry Smith, having in the meantime obtained some reinforcements, marched out to attack the enemy on January 28, 1846, at ALIWAL. The British infantry, by their steady advance drove the Síkhs into the river; the latter lost fifty-six guns and immense quantities of ammunition and stores of all kinds. Guláb Singh, who had been very confident in the final success of the Síkh arms, now gave up hope, and commenced negotiations with the English leaders; whilst the Cis-Satlej States immediately declared in favour of the British.

* Often called in histories *Ferozeshah*.

Sir Harry Smith now formed a junction with Sir Hugh Gough; and the latter determined to force the passage of the Satlej, and to take possession of the Panjáb. The Sikhs had entrenched themselves on both sides of the Satlej, at SOBRAON, above Firúzpur. The Commander-in-Chief, having received a siege-train from Dehli and plenty of ammunition and supplies, drew up his forces in the form of a crescent along the Sikh front, and commenced the attack before daybreak on February 10, 1846. For three hours there was a terrific cannonade on both sides; and then Sir Hugh Gough ordered the British troops to charge the entrenchments of the enemy. Tej Singh fled; but the aged Shám Singh, in white garments, devoted himself to death as a martyr for the Gurú, and fell at length on a heap of his slain countrymen. Many thousands of Sikhs gallantly fell at their posts; and it was not till after two hours' fierce fighting at close quarters that the shattered remnants of the Khálsá army fled in helpless confusion across the Satlej, under the deadly fire of the British artillery.

Three days later (February 13, 1846) the whole British army crossed the Satlej; and on February 14 Sir Henry Hardinge issued a proclamation, announcing the intentions of the British Government which were singularly moderate. An interview was accorded to Guláb Singh, the chosen representative of the Khálsá and the leading Sikh chiefs at Kasur; and ultimately the young Dhúlip Singh personally made his submission, the citadel of Lahore was occupied by the British troops, and the country submitted on the terms imposed by the conquerors. Sufficient treasure for the payment of all the war-expenses was not forthcoming, so Kashmír and Hazára were retained; and ultimately Kashmír was formed into an independent State under Guláb Singh of Jammu, who in return paid one million sterling towards this indemnity.

§ 2. *Social Reforms.*—After all these great and bloody wars, in which the armies of Sindh, of Gwáliár, and of

the Síkhs had been successively annihilated, India enjoyed peace for nearly two years; and Lord Hardinge was able to apply himself to those humane efforts for the suppression of cruel customs, with which his name is honourably connected. The horrible crimes of thuggee, infanticide, *satí*, and human sacrifices were still prevalent in many parts of India. Of the last the most important were the *Meriah* sacrifices in Gumsar, amongst the Khands and other aboriginal tribes of Orissa, Gondwána, and the hills and forests of Central India. These are now suppressed. Free trade was at this time promoted by the abolition of *octroi* duties, that is, of taxes paid for importing food and other merchandise into some of the large towns of India.

Lord Hardinge left Calcutta early in 1848. During his short administration he had gained the affections of all classes; and his name will always be remembered with respect as that of a skilful and gallant soldier, and a no less able and beneficent politician.

CHAPTER XXXII.

LORD DALHOUSIE:—THE SECOND SÍKH WAR.

A.D. 1848—1856.

§ 1. The Second Sikh War. § 2. The Annexations of Pegu, Nágpur, and Oudh. § 3. Social Progress in India under Lord Dalhousie's rule.

§ 1. *The Second Sikh War.*—The Earl of Dalhousie was appointed to succeed Lord Hardinge, in the hope that he would be able to secure peace to India after the recent bloody wars. His administration lasted from 1848 to 1856, and is chiefly famous for the vast additions made to the British Indian Empire, by the annexations of the Panjáb, of Pegu in Burmah, of Oudh, of Tanjor, of Nágpur, of

Sátára, and of Jhánsi. The policy of increasing the British Empire in India by annexing other States, though not originated by Lord Dalhousie, was carried to the greatest extent by him. This policy was generally adopted out of pity for the oppressed inhabitants of the States annexed; but it has long been abandoned by the Government.

The turbulence of the Sikhs soon made it clear to the new Governor-General that another Sikh war was inevitable; and he determined to prosecute it with vigour, and to take possession of the Panjáb, so as to render it impossible for the Sikh soldiery again to disturb the peace of India. The speech, which he is said to have made on coming to this conclusion, is a famous one:—'I have wished for peace; I have longed for it; I have striven for it. But if the enemies of India desire war, war they shall have; and on my word, they shall have it with a vengeance!'

The outbreak of the Sikhs began in Multán, where two British officers were assassinated and preparations made for defending the fortress; and the flame of insurrection soon spread throughout the Panjáb. A young Englishman, named Lieutenant Edwardes (afterwards Sir Herbert Edwardes), who was stationed near Multán, immediately collected some troops and prepared to attack Multán; and soon the Commander-in-Chief of the British army, Lord Gough, was in the field with a large force. Multán was taken by storm, and after a bloody and indecisive battle at *Chillianwallah*, Lord Gough succeeded in utterly defeating the Sikh army in the victory of GUJARÁT (February 1849), which is a small town in the Doáb between the Chenáb and the Jhelam. The Sikhs had been joined by a powerful body of Afghán cavalry, who had been sent to help them by Dost Muhammad, the old foe of the English. The battle of Gujarát was remarkable, because it was won almost entirely by the tremendous fire of the English artillery. For two days a terrific storm of cannon-balls and shells pounded the Sikh lines, and cut down the brave Sikhs by thousands; till at last the whole Sikh army fled before the English troops. All that remained were at last compelled

to give themselves up at various places in the Panjáb as prisoners to the English. Amongst those who surrendered was Sher Singh, the chief Síkh commander; and a brave English General named Gilbert, who was one of the best of the leaders under Lord Gough, chased Dost Muhammad's Afghán cavalry across the Indus and as far as the entrance to the Khaibar Pass.

Lord Dalhousie determined to annex the Panjáb to the British Indian Empire, now that the Síkhs were thoroughly defeated; for he saw that that brave people, as long as they were ill-governed, would be a continual source of trouble both to the Panjáb and to Hindústán. The Mahárájá Dhúlíp Singh signed a treaty in full Darbár, by which he gave up the sovereignty to the English, receiving in return a large pension; and he has since lived a quiet and useful life in England as an English landowner. The Panjáb was put under the rule of a Board of English Commissioners; of whom Sir Henry Lawrence was the chief, and his brother, John Lawrence (afterwards Lord Lawrence, and Governor-General of India) was the second. Ever since that time it has been well and justly governed; the Síkhs have been some of the most loyal subjects of the British Crown, and the Panjáb has rapidly grown in wealth and importance.

§ 2. *The Annexations of Pegu, Nágpur, and Oudh.*— Other annexations soon followed that of the Panjáb. The second Burmese War, which broke out in 1852, was caused by the arrogance of the King of Ava, who was so foolish as to think that he might insult and injure British subjects with impunity; and the result was, that all the maritime provinces of Burmah (called Pegu, which is now a part of the flourishing chief-commissionership of British Burmah) were conquered and annexed in 1852 to the other provinces that had been ceded to the English in the First Burmese War. In the following year, 1853, Nágpur was also annexed, because the Mahratta Rájá had died without heirs and without having adopted a son.

In 1856, the great and populous kingdom of Oudh was also annexed. By the treaty of 1801, it had been placed under the protection of the British, and the King had been guaranteed security as long as he ruled well and peaceably. But the Government had gone from bad to worse; and the anarchy and oppression in Oudh had been such as to endanger the peace of the surrounding British districts. The sufferings of the people themselves were terrible; and the British guarantee prevented their rising in insurrection with any prospect of success. Every dictate of humanity and prudence was in favour of annexation; Lord Dalhousie advised it, with the unanimous consent of his Council. The Home Government ordered that the province should be annexed; and the ex-king was transferred to Calcutta with a pension.

§ 3. *Social Progress in India under Lord Dalhousie's Rule.*—A wonderful degree of progress marks the administration of Lord Dalhousie, both in civilisation and material prosperity. The first Indian Railway was opened in 1853; and railways and telegraph-lines began rapidly to spread over the whole country. Vast schemes of education were set on foot; Universities were ordered to be founded; and the Presidency College in Calcutta was established in 1855. Gigantic schemes of Public Works, too, of a useful kind—such as great public buildings, roads, and canals—were planned, and large sums of money borrowed for them. The crime of extracting evidence from accused persons by torturing them was stringently put down; and earnest endeavours were made to do full justice to all classes in this great empire. Indeed, during the brilliant and vigorous administration of Lord Dalhousie, which lasted eight years, from 1848 to 1856, was thoroughly inaugurated that equitable and honourable system of governing India with a single view to the happiness and prosperity of the people which has been conscientiously followed up by every succeeding Governor-General.

Lord Dalhousie left Calcutta on the 6th of March 1856

His health was utterly broken down by his labours and anxieties, and he died within a few years; but his fame will always endure as one of the greatest of the Governors-General of British India.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

LORD CANNING:—THE SEPOY MUTINY.

A.D. 1856–1862.

§ 1. The Sepoy Mutiny. § 2. The Abolition of the East India Company's Rule. § 3. Conclusion.

§ 1. *The Sepoy Mutiny.*—Lord Canning was appointed to succeed Lord Dalhousie as Governor-General; and he arrived in Calcutta on the 29th of February 1856. The history of his administration is chiefly connected with the 'Sepoy Mutiny,' which broke out in 1857, and which resulted in the abolition of the rule of the East India Company, and in the assumption of the direct Government of India by Her Gracious Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Empress of India. The events of the great Mutiny are still so recent that I shall not attempt to give more than a very brief outline of them. The broad general points that should be remembered by the student with regard to the Mutiny, are:—(1) except perhaps in Oudh, the rising was strictly a *mutiny*, not a *rebellion*—*i.e.*, it was an insurrection of traitorous *soldiers* of the Native Bengal Army, and was rarely joined in by any other part of the population except through fear or under compulsion: (2) the majority of the princes and chiefs of India displayed, throughout this perilous time, a noble spirit of patriotism and of fidelity to the British Indian Government—in many cases arming their retainers and giving every assistance to the authorities in resisting the outrages of the mutineers;

the most prominent amongst these loyal chiefs were the Mahárájá Sindia of Gwáliár, the Mahárájá of Jaipur, those of Kapurthala, Patiála, and many other great Sikh Rájás and Sardárs:—(3) the chief leaders of the mutinous soldiers, who instigated them to commit so many atrocities, were those who hoped to gain by the anarchy and disorder which would follow the subversion of the British Power; amongst these the most active were the miscreant Dhundu Pant (called the Náná Saheb), the adopted son of the last Peshwá, afterwards infamous as the author of the Cawnpore massacre, who hoped to regain the former power of the Mahrattas; whilst the old king of Dehli and his sons entertained a foolish hope of being able to restore the glories of the Mughul dynasty.

These wicked and misguided men endeavoured to effect their purpose by circulating the most absurd rumours amongst the regiments of the Native army and amongst the ignorant country people. They pretended that the British Government was determined to annex the whole of India, and to dispossess all the native princes; above all, they pretended that the Government wished to destroy the religions of both Hindús and Musalmáns, and to force all to become Christians. Of course no educated persons could be so foolish as to believe these silly stories; but the ignorant and uneducated sepoys were easily led to think that they were true. Early in 1857 a new kind of rifle was introduced into the Indian army, of which the *cartridges* (*i.e.*, the packets containing the gunpowder and ball) had to be greased before they were put into the rifle to load it; and the sepoys were falsely told by these wicked traitors that the cartridges had been greased with the fat of pigs and cows, so as to defile both the Musalmáns and Hindús. At length the mutiny suddenly broke out in all its horrors at Mirut on the 10th May 1857, and rapidly spread throughout Hindústán and the neighbouring provinces. The chief events were the following:—

(1). The outbreak of the mutiny, and the massacres of

Europeans by the sepoys at Mírat, Dehli, Cawnpore, and elsewhere, in May, June, and July 1857.

(2). The siege of Dehli (June to September), and the storming of that fortress by the British troops in September 1857.

(3). The defence of Lucknow by the English residents, and its first relief by the troops under Havelock and Outram in September 1857

(4). The second relief of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde), and the final suppression of the mutiny in Oudh and the neighbouring provinces of Hindústán, during the latter part of the year 1857.

(5). The suppression of the mutineers in Central India by Sir Hugh Rose early in 1858.

The story of this 'Sepoy war' is adorned by many instances of the most sublime self-sacrifice, of the most noble fortitude and endurance under circumstances of terrible suffering, of the most wonderful valour in fight on the part of the comparatively few Englishmen who were scattered over the country. Many natives, too, who were loyal to the Government in time of peril, displayed the most remarkable devotion in helping Europeans, and often endured very great sufferings in the discharge of their duty. On the other hand, the story is saddened by instances of the basest ingratitude and treachery, the sepoys often murdering not only men but also large numbers of helpless women and innocent children under circumstances of the greatest brutality; and it is fair to add that the righteous punishment that was justly inflicted on these atrocious murderers was sometimes (I hope not often) sullied by fierce revenge and unnecessary cruelty on the part of the conquerors. Altogether it was a time of great misery for the greater part of Northern India. Fortunately the Panjáb was saved from these horrors by the promptitude and determination of the noble band of statesmen and soldiers who were governing

that province under Sir John Lawrence. Of these perhaps the greatest was John Nicholson, who afterwards was killed whilst leading the assault on Dehli, and of whom Mr. Temple (now Sir Richard Temple, and Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal) declared 'without John Nicholson, Dehli could not have fallen.

The central scene of the mutiny was Dehli, where the mutinous sepoys had collected in immense force, and where for some time they sheltered themselves within its stupendous fortress, furnished with inexhaustible supplies of ammunition and stores. Every loyal person in India was therefore glad to hear that its fortifications had been taken by storm on the 14th September, and the whole city was captured by the 20th September 1857. Thus was this great siege successfully carried through by the English troops, aided by some brave Sikh regiments, before a single soldier of the many thousands who were hastening from England to uphold the British Power had set foot in India. The old King of Dehli was captured, brought to trial, and transported for life across the sea to British Burmah, where he afterwards died unpitied. Two of his sons and a grandson were shot, and most of the leaders of the mutineers were shot or hanged.

During all this time a struggle, perhaps the most glorious of the whole war, had been going on at Lucknow, where the Residency was defended by Sir Henry Lawrence, one of the best, most generous, and most heroic men that India has ever known, with a small band of Europeans and loyal natives against countless hosts of rebels. On the 2nd of July he was killed by the bursting of a shell, but the defence was still maintained with the utmost gallantry. At length Havelock, after having thrice crossed the Ganges, and after having gained innumerable victories, forced his way through the besieging force, and got into Lucknow on the 25th of September. The chivalrous Sir James Outram had been sent to take command of the relieving army, but he generously refused to

supersede Havelock until the city had been relieved, and thus the latter had the pleasure of himself accomplishing that for which he had dared and endured so much.

During the year 1858 the mutiny was gradually crushed in all quarters, and the few remaining bands of mutineers were hunted down; and on the 8th of July 1859 Lord Canning proclaimed peace, and the 28th of July was fixed as a day of thanksgiving to God for the happy restoration of order and quiet.

Two short wars, one against Persia and the other against China, had been waged during 1857 by British Indian troops. The English arms were of course entirely successful in each case, and the wars were only of importance because the conclusion of the one (that against Persia), and the fact that English troops were passing near India on their way to the scene of the other war, enabled the Government at Calcutta to send early reinforcements to the North-West.

§ 2. *The Abolition of the East India Company's Rule.*—One of the results of the troubles and dangers of the Sepoy Mutiny was that the English Parliament determined that the British Empire in India should no longer be left in the hands of the East India Company, but that it should be placed directly under the control of Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, and should be governed by a *Viceroy* (or representative of the Queen) in India, and by a Secretary of State in England. In consequence of this change, Lord Canning became the first VICEROY of British India, and every Governor-General now bears that higher title.

Lord Elgin succeeded Lord Canning on the retirement of the latter in 1862, and reigned for twenty months, until the end of 1863. Then Sir John Lawrence (now Lord Lawrence), who had managed the Panjáb so wisely and so well during the mutiny, became Viceroy and Governor-General. Lord Lawrence reigned for

four years, from 1864 to 1868, and was succeeded by Lord Mayo, who was assassinated by a fanatic convict at the Andaman Isles, in February 1872. After a short interregnum (during which the Viceregal power was held temporarily first by Sir John Strachey and afterwards by Lord Napier of Merchistoun), the present Viceroy, LORD NORTHBROOK, arrived in India. The events that have happened since the abolition of the East India Company's rule are too recent to be fitly recorded in a work of this nature.

§ 3. *Conclusion.*—One of the last public acts of Lord Canning was the bestowal of *Sanads* on the Feudatory Princes of India, who had distinguished themselves by their loyalty to the British Crown. By these *Sanads* the Indian Chiefs were constituted feudal nobles of the British Empire, and were guaranteed the peaceable enjoyment of their dominions and all their rights and privileges, including the right to adopt a son and heir in case of failure of male issue, provided that they faithfully fulfilled all the promises they had made to the British Government, and maintained their loyalty to their Gracious Sovereign.

The Proclamation by which Queen Victoria took the millions of India under Her Gracious protection, and promised to govern them according to those beneficent maxims which have always distinguished British rule, was translated into all the vernacular languages of India, and was read in every station and in every native Court on the 1st of November 1858. Her Majesty's kind words, full of grace and dignity, doubtless did much to reassure the minds of the people, and to convince them that the intentions of their English rulers were as just and benevolent as their military strength had recently proved to be irresistible. With the closing words of that proclamation we will close this history:—'When by the blessing of Providence the internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote

works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its Government for the benefit of all Our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be Our strength, in their contentment Our security, and in their gratitude Our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to Us, and to those in authority under Us, strength to carry out these Our wishes for the good of Our people.'

APPENDIX A.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

§ 1. Religious and Philosophical Literature. § 2. Epic and Dramatic Poetry. § 3. Lyric Poetry. § 4. Fables and Ethical Works.

§ 1. *Religious Literature.*—The Religious literature of the Hindús is commonly divided by them into *Sruti* or Revelation, and *Smriti* or Tradition. Under the former head are comprised the *Sanhitás* and *Bráhmanas* of the Vedas; whilst the latter includes the numerous writings, considered to be supplementary to the Vedas, grouped under the name of the *Dharma-Sástras.*

There are four Vedas, called the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sáma-Veda, and the Atharva-Veda. Each Veda is divided into two parts: the Hymns or Mantras *(Sanhitás)*, which express the wants and aspirations of the worshippers, and hence throw light on the social condition of the people; and the *Bráhmanas*, mainly referring to religious rites and ceremonies.

Of these writings the most important are the Hymns of the Rig-Veda, which is the oldest of the Vedas, and the oldest work in any Aryan language (its date is supposed to be about 1400 B.C.). The Hymns are addressed to a deity manifested in the phenomena of nature—to Indra, the god of the sky, often represented as the Supreme God—to Agni, the god of fire—to Varuna, the god of the firmament and of rain—to Savitri, Súrya, Mitra, names of the god of the sun—to Váyu, the air—the Maruts or winds—Ushas, the dawn—the Aswins, and many others.

The *Dharma-Sástras*, though very ancient, are of a later date than even the Bráhmanas of the Vedas. They are divided into four classes, the *Vedánta*, the four *Upa-Vedas*, the six *Vedángas*, and the four *Upángas.* The third of the six Vedángas is called *Vyákaraṇa*, or Grammar; and is represented by the grammar of *Panini*, one of the greatest grammarians that ever lived, whose date is supposed to be slightly earlier than that of Buddha.

The sixth and last of the Vedángas was *Jyotisha*, or Astronomy

The earliest astronomer, of whom any works remain, was the sage *Parasara*. The chief writer on Astronomy was called *Aryabhatta*, who lived about 500 A.D.; he affirmed the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, and made other discoveries far in advance of the age in which he lived. A later writer on Astronomy, *Bhaskarâchârya*, lived at Bidar in the Dakhin about A.D. 1100; he is said to have discovered a mathematical process very nearly resembling the *Differential Calculus* of modern European mathematicians.

Of the Upángas, the first was the *Purâna*, or History. The second was the *Nyâya*, or Logic. The third was the *Mimánsa*, or Moral Philosophy. The fourth was the *Dharma-Sástra*, or Jurisprudence. Of this fourth Upánga, the best known is the *Mánava-dharma-sástra*, or 'Laws of Manu' [*see* Chap. V.]; the law-book of the Mánavas, a sub-division of the sect of the Taittiríyas.

§ 2. *Epic and Dramatic Poetry.*—The two great Epic Poems of the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana have already been described in Chapter II., and the Puránas in Chapter VII. There are, however, some Epic poets of a much later age. Of these Kálidása, better known as the greatest Hindú Dramatist [the 'Shakspeare of India'—*see* next paragraph], wrote the celebrated poem called *Raghuvansa*, or History of the Race of Ráma; beginning with Dilípa the father of Raghu, and mainly devoted to the celebration of the exploits of Raghu and his godlike grandson, Ráma. The purity of sentiment, and the tenderness and fidelity of the characters represented, are characteristic both of the *Raghuvansa* and of all the other works of Kálidása. He also wrote the *Kumára Sambhava*, or Birth of Kártikeya, the God of War; together with some other poems of the nature of epics. The other great Epic poets are *Bháravi*, *Srí-Harsha*, and *Mágha*; whose writings, with those of Kálidása, have been dignified by the titles *Mâha Kâvya*, or the Great Poems. Bháravi is the author of the *Kirátárjuníya*, which contains an account of the conflict carried on by Arjuna against Síva in the form of a Kiráta, or wild hunter. Srí-Harsha's principal work is the *Naishadha-Charita*, or the Adventures of Nala, Rájá of Nishadha. Mágha is the author of *Sisupála Badha*, an epic poem on the death of Sisupála. A fifth epic poet, named *Soma-Deva*, is the author of the *Vrihat Kathá*.

We come now to the Dramatists. Of these by far the greatest is Kálidása, who is said by the Hindús to have been one of the

'gems of the Court of Vikramáditya,' king of Ujjain [*see* Chap. VII.] His most important drama is *Sakuntalá*, or the Lost Ring, the plot of which is taken from an episode in the Máhábharata. It has been translated into English, French, Bengáli, Hindi, and other languages. The plot is as follows:—Sakuntalá was the daughter of the great Rishi Visvámitra, by Menaká, who had been sent from heaven by Indra to allure the sage from his austere penances. When Visvámitra returned to his penances, Menaká went back to heaven; and Sakúntalá was adopted by the Rishi Kanwa, and subsequently married in the Gandharva manner to the Rájá Dushyanta. Being cursed by a Rishi, named Durvása, she was fated to be forgotten by her husband; but as some remission of this cruel sentence, it was decreed that Dushyanta should again remember her on seeing a ring which he had given her. The loss of this ring in the waters of the tank, the grief of Sakuntalá at being disowned by her husband, the ultimate recovery of the ring in the belly of a fish, and the final recognition and happiness of Sakuntalá, are the chief incidents of the play. The son of Dushyanta and Sakuntalá was Bharata, the ancestor of the Pándus and Kurus. It is worthy of note that, whilst the higher classes are represented in the play as speaking the classical Sanskrit, the lower classes speak *Prákrit*, the vulgarised form of the Sanskrit.

The other great drama of Kálidása is called the *Vikramorvasi*. It is the story of the loves of King Vikrama of Prayág, and the nymph Urvasí, who was changed into a climbing-plant.

The Toy-Cart (*Mrichchhakati*) is the name of a celebrated drama of domestic life, said to be by a certain king named Sudraka. Its scene is laid in Ujjain; its hero, a Bráhman named Charudatta, who is a model of virtue, but who has been impoverished by his generosity.

Six other famous Sanskrit dramas remain to be noticed. The first is called *Málati and Mádhava*; it was written by *Bhavábhúti*, a Bráhman of Barár, whose popularity as a dramatist rivalled that of Kálidása. Bhavábhúti was also the author of two other great dramas; the *Uttara-Ráma-Charita* (the plot of which is derived from the seventh book of the Rámáyana), and the *Mahávira-Charita*. The fourth is the *Mudrá-Rákshasa* by *Visákhadatta*; wherein is dramatised the revolution by which Chandragupta succeeded the Nandas in the kingdom of Magadha. The fifth is called *Ratnavali*, or the Necklace; a play attributed to King Harsha of

Kashmir, who reigned from 1113 to 1125 A.D. The sixth is a theological and philosophical drama by Krishna Misra, called *Prabodha-Chandrodaya*, or 'the rising of the moon of awakened intellect.' It was probably composed in the twelfth century; and its object was the establishment of Vedanta doctrine.

§ 3. *Lyric Poetry.*—The most famous lyric poem in Sanskrit is the *Megha-Duta*, or Cloud-messenger, by the great dramatist Kálidása; and another by the same author is called the *Ritu-Sanhara*, descriptive of the seasons.

A lyric poem, half-dramatic, half-pastoral, called *Gita-Govinda*, about the loves of the herdsman Krishna and his shepherdess Radha, was written by Jayadeva about the twelfth century. Jayadeva's verses are distinguished by the most exquisite melody.

§ 4. *Fables and Ethical Works.*—We come now to the *Nitikatha*, or fables and works on ethics. The most celebrated work of this class is the *Panchatantra*, so called from its being divided into five sections, or five collections of stories. It is attributed to Vishnu-Sarma; and is the foundation of a similar collection of fables called the *Hitopadesa*, or Salutary Instruction. The *Panchatantra* was translated into Pehlevi by the orders of Naushirvan, king of Persia, from A.D. 531 to 590; and hence, under the name of the *Fables of Bidpai or Pilpay*, was translated into most of the languages of the civilised world. Its Arabic form, under the name of Kalila-wa-Damna, was also very celebrated. The story of the composition of the *Panchatantra* is curious. A certain king had three sons who were deficient in ability and application. He made this known to his councillors, and asked their advice. A learned Bráhman, named Vishnu-Sarma, who was present, offered to relieve the king of his anxiety by taking the princes to his house and instructing them perfectly. He then composed for their benefit the five *tantras*, viz., Mitra-bheda, or dissension of friends; Mitra-prapti, or acquisition of friends; Kakolukiya (the Crow and the Owl), or inveterate enmity; Sabda-nashta, or loss of advantage; Asamprekshya-karitwa, or inconsiderateness.

Four other works of a somewhat similar character are also celebrated. The first is the *Katha-sarit-sagara*, or 'ocean of the streams of narrative,' said to have been collected by King Harsha of Kashmir. The second is the *Vetala-Panchavinsati*, or twenty-five stories told by a Vetala or demon. The third is the *Sinhasana-dwatrinsati*, or thirty-two tales told by the images which supported

the throne of King Vikramáditya. The fourth is the *Sukasaptati*, or seventy-two tales of a parrot.

Three other famous prose works may be mentioned:—the *Kadamvari*, by *Banabhatta;* the *Basavadatta*, by *Subhandu;* and the *Dasakumaracharita*, by Dandi.

APPENDIX B.

MUHAMMADAN LITERATURE.

§ 1. Character of the Muhammadan Literature. § 2. Firishtah. § 3. Abul Fazl. § 4. Faizi. § 5. Ibn Batutah. § 6. Khâfi Khân. § 7. Other Historians. § 8. Poets.

§ 1. *Character of the Muhammadan Literature.*—Whilst the sacred book of the Muhammadans, the Koran, was in Arabic, the bulk of their general literature has been written in Persian.

A remarkable change in the character of the literature of India is observable at the time of the Muhammadan invasions. At this period, for the first time, we obtain numerous and valuable *historical* works. This taste for historical literature was inherited from the Arabs by the Indian Muhammadans. The Arabs had been, during the latter part of the Dark Ages in Europe, the chief cultivators of science; and Arabic literature had, at a very early period, attained a high stage of development. The Persian literature of India was largely indebted to the scholarship of the Arabs. It will be sufficient for our present purpose if we notice a few of the chief historians and poets, authors of the most famous works.

§ 2. *Firishtah.*—The most celebrated historian of India was FIRISHTAH, who was born at Ahmadnagar about A.D. 1570. He lived at the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II., of Bijapur, from A.D. 1589 to about 1612; and to that monarch he dedicated his great work, the *Tarikh Firishtah*. This is a general history of India, commencing A.D. 975, and terminating with 1605. It was translated into English by Dow; and has been the foundation of the history of the Muhammadan period in India, as given in most standard English works.

§ 3. *Abul Fazl.*—Hardly less celebrated is the great historical

work of ABUL FAZL, the prime minister of Akbar [*see* Chap. XIII.], which is called the *Akbar-Namah*. The first volume of this gigantic work contains the history of the family of Timur, as far as it concerns India. The second volume is devoted to the detailed history of nearly forty-six years of the reign of Akbar. The third volume, by far the most celebrated of all, is called the *Ain-i-Akbari*, or *Institutes* of Akbar, containing a minute account of every department of government, of every part of the empire, and of everything connected with the Emperor's establishments, public and private.

§ 4. *Faizi.*—The brother of Abul Fazl, named FAIZI, was also a very learned man and a great writer. He especially devoted his attention to Sanskrit literature; and translated into Persian many great Sanskrit works, including the Mahábhárata.

§ 5. *Ibn Batutah.*—In 1341, an African traveller, named IBN BATUTAH, visited Dehli. He was received with great respect, and appointed to the office of judge by the king, Muhammad Bin Tughlak [*see* Chap. X., § 3]. Seeing, however, some evidence of Muhammad's capricious and cruel temper, he resigned his office. The king, without taking offence, attached him to an embassy to China, and thus honourably dismissed him. His *Travels* (which have been translated in English and French) contain very valuable accounts of India.

§ 6. *Khafi Khán.*—The chief historian of the later Mughul period was Mir Muhammad, better known as KHÁFI KHÁN. Aurangzeb [*see* Chap. XIV.] strictly ordered that no history should be written; but Mir Muhammad wrote his in secret during the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign (about A.D. 1700), and hence obtained the title Khafi Khán (*the concealed*).

§ 7. *Other Historians.*—There are many other historians, to whose works (some in Arabic, but mostly in Persian) we need only briefly allude. Sultan BABAR wrote *Memoirs* of his own life which are most graphic and interesting: they were originally written in Turki, but were translated into Persian. Utbi wrote the *Tarikh Yamini*, the history of the period of Sabaktigín and his great successor Mahmud. Hasan Nizám wrote the *Taj-ul-maásir*, memoirs of the lives of Muhammad Ghori, Kutb-ud-dín, and Altamsh. It was written at Dehli about the year 1210; it is partly in verse and contains much Arabic. A more important history is that of MINHAJ-US-SIRAJ, whose work, the *Tabakát-i-Násiri*, is the most trustworthy authority for the history of the

Afghán period down to the accession of Balban. Two valuable histories of the later part of the same period are both called *Tárikh-i-Firúz-Shahí*,—one being written by ZIA-UD-DIN BARNI, the other by SHAMS-I-SIRAJ AFIF. Other historians are Abdul-Kadir BADAONI and Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, who wrote in the time of Akbar; Muatimad Khán, who wrote the *Jahángír-Námah*; Muhammad Bin Sáleh, who wrote the *Shah-Jahán-Námah*; Mirza Muhammad Kásim, who wrote the *Alamgir-Námah*; and Sayyid Ghulám Aussin Khán, a relative of the Nawáb Alivírdi Khán [*see* Chap. XX.], who wrote a history of the eighteenth-century Hindustan, in the year 1783.

§ 8. *Poets.*—Amongst many others, we may mention three very famous Muhammadan poets of India:—Ferdausi, Adsari, and Amir Khusrau.

ANSARI and FERDAUSI were both ornaments of the court of Mahmúd of Ghazní. The latter has been called the 'Persian Homer:' he wrote the *Shah-Námah* in praise of Mahmúd.

AMIR KHUSRAU was one of the illustrious literary exiles who fled from Persia to the Court of Balban to avoid the Mughals. He wrote an immense amount of poetry, some of which has been considered very beautiful. Two of his most celebrated poems are (1) on the loves of Khizr Khán and Dewál Devi [*see* Chap. X.]; and (2) on the meeting between the Emperor Kaikubád and his father Bughrá Khán [*see* Chap. X.].

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